Big business tycoons are getting scared of their own cold war

By Tabitha Petran

A WEEK before the Morgan-controlled Collier's produced its "preview of World War III" showing an America serene and strong in victory after three years of atomic war, another Morgan man reviewed the prospects in startlingly sombre tones. Charles E. Wilson (not to be confused with his War Mobilizer namesake of GE) is president of General Motors Co. (Dupont-Morgan), the world's largest corporation—top war contractor of World War II and of today's mobilization—whose 1950 profits after taxes totaled nearly a billion dollars. Before the Society for Advancement of Management on Oct. 10, he warned against "expanding the military program beyond the minimum needed to defend the country," outlined the dangers of "state planning" to "our civilian economy and basic individual rights," and added:

> "It would be tragic indeed . . . if we overdo military preparedness and are at least partly responsible for precipitating a third world war. Such a war, even after victory, would still leave us with the unsolved problem of how to establish a stable peace."

Wilson underlined his point by quoting a Detroit **News** editorial (Oct. 7) titled: OVER-ARMING CAN LEAD THE NATION DOWN THE ROAD TO WORLD WAR III. The **News**, warned against visiting "an entrenched militarism upon the U.S.," maintaining that

> . . . it was never intended that we would confront the Communist world with preponderant power, or project a program of armament which in the immediate future might give Russia genuine fears of her security. . . . Those outside the military establishments who until now have supported rearmament will not support it that far. . . . This nation cannot live for long in peace, or in relative prosperity, once it is converted into an armed camp. Either it will be beggared by the cost of military upkeep, and the starving of the supply to its civilian economy will promote depression and political demoralization, or to ward off these evils, we will take the road to war, even as Hitler did.

NOT EITHER BUT BOTH: What lies behind this division of opinion on top big-business levels as to whither the greatest arms drive in history is taking the nation? Why this recognition by some that the U.S. under present policies is facing not depression OR a war economy—as the pump-priming character of the arms program has led many to believe—but depression AND war?

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NATIONAL GUARDIAN
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THE BOYS IN THE FRONT ROOM WILL TAKE AN ASPIRIN

Charles E. Wilson (seen here, l., in an expansive moment at New York's Waldorf-Astoria with General Motors chairman Alfred P. Sloan Jr. and research consultant Charles F. Kettering) has a headache. The cold-war Frankenstein monster he and his friends created seems to be getting out of control.

WAR & PEACE

Atrocity report backfires, leaves U.S. allies jittery

THE cold-war acid indigestion of Washington's allies was reflected last week at the General Assembly in Paris and at the State Dept. At the Assembly a dozen or more countries usually found in the State Dept. column braved U.S. disapproval to demand big-power talks and easing of world tension. Among the U.S.'s Korean allies the N.Y. **Times** (Nov. 18) found "an outcropping of criticism of the way the UN [i.e., U.S.] truce team was conducting the negotiations."

The criticism outcropped after the 8th Army's chief of War Crimes Section, Col. James M. Hanley, told the world that the Chinese with a "barbarism unique even in the Communist world" last year had murdered 2,513 U.S. prisoners of war in cold blood (he later added another 3,757 slain by North Koreans). The story was released a few hours after Secy. Acheson told the Assembly that China's conduct "was so low that it would take considerable improvement to raise it to the general level of barbarism." It produced a babel of shrieking headlines, demands from Congressmen and, newspapers for atomic incineration of the "sub-barbarians." Anxious relatives deluged the Pentagon with inquiries. The President said that "if true" this was the most uncivilized happening in a century.

IN CHINA THEY BUILD THE GOOD LIFE

Too busy to concern themselves with war propagandists' nightmares, but resolved to defend their newly-won right to the pursuit of happiness, these women of a mutual-aid team in Chingyang County, Shensi Province, chat about what they plan to do with their good cotton harvest this year.

CONFUSION & EVIDENCE: The only note of official caution in inflamed Washington came from the Pentagon, which appeared to be "caught flatfooted" (N.Y. **Times**, Nov. 18); it disclaimed prior knowledge of the report, which caused "more trouble and confusion in official quarters" than anything since the dismissal of MacArthur (James Reston, N.Y. **Times**, Nov. 15). Allied nations "appealed to the State Dept. for an explanation of the report and why it had been published at a critical moment in the armistice negotiations in Korea" (Reston).

While the Pentagon, and Gens. Ridgway and Van Fleet disclaimed responsibility, Hanley insisted: "I had of course authorization from superior officers to publish the records." This gave the story "the strange status of having been cleared on high levels yet . . . also a complete surprise to allied authorities" (N.Y. **Times**, Nov. 16). While the circumstances surrounding its release remained unclear,

- The weight of the evidence suggested it was bogus. I. F. Stone (**Compass**, Nov. 16) showed in detail that its figures did not jibe with official "missing" statistics. Official figures showed, for example, that the Chinese did not hold as many Marine Corps prisoners last December as the report said they had massacred. Stone found "disbelief" at the Pentagon and Marine Corps Headquarters, where he was referred to an Aug. 25 **Saturday Evening Post** article quoting 18 Marines, released after six months as POW's, that "so far as they knew" the Chinese "never struck, beat or in any way physically maltreated a prisoner" although they exposed POW's to "propaganda torments that would curl your hair." The Baltimore **Sun's** Mark Watson said Nov. 15 that there would be no official comment "on a matter so out of line with official beliefs." Ridgway ordered an investigation, came out with a statement which the press treated as confirming the charges but which in fact did not deal in figures at all. Ridgway threw some light on the aims of the report when he said: "It may well be that in no other way could all lingering doubts be dispelled from the minds of the American people as to the methods" of Communist leaders.
- The report came just when a series of Communist concessions in the Korean truce talks made it almost impossible to delay a cease-fire any longer. The real course of the talks, which has been almost completely blacked-out or confused by U.S. censorship, shows the significance of the atrocity story.

Washington Times-Herald

Tick! Tock!

This is the record

The talks began July 10 after Ridgway, Marshall, Collins, Bradley, Acheson said the U.S. would be willing to settle on the 38th Parallel and Malik proposed such a settlement. After Communist concessions to the U.S. on press coverage, on postponement of the key question of withdrawal of foreign troops, the agenda was completed July 27; talks began on item 2, the demarcation line, July 29.

From July 29 to Aug. 17 the Communists insisted on the 38th Parallel as the cease-fire line. The U.S. told the world it was asking a truce on the present battleline; Communist charges that it was actually demanding a line far north of the battleline, involving cession of some 12,000 additional sq. kms. of North Korea, in compensation

(Continued on Page 4)

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Cause for pride

ST. LOUIS, MO.

As I sat reading my GUARDIAN early this morning, enjoying my cup of coffee before the children awoke and cut short my few precious moments of solitude, many emotions welled up in me—my head whirled and my eyes filled with tears. What a mess this world had gotten into—what a dirty, filthy, sordid mess! How much worse could it get?

And then I came to the article on the Rosenbergs—the many letters with such sincere, heartfelt offers of help. And above all my other feelings of despair and disgust, the feeling of deep pride came to the front. I felt proud, so very proud, to be a part of Progressive America.

St. Louis Housewife

A veteran's gratitude

PACIFIC PALISADES, CALIF.

Evidently the Rosenberg Case is part of the smokescreen behind which Washington is preparing to plunge America into war. Those who want war will not be kindly disposed to William Reuben's articles. But as a veteran of World War II, with almost two years' overseas service in a combat area, I find them very informative and extremely important. Please convey to him the gratitude of a peaceful citizen.

George Watkins

Luce semantics

CHICAGO, ILL.

Considering the present dire period in history and our vaunted sense of manifest destiny in it, where within man's recollection has there ever been a more flagrant, arrogant distortion of truth than is contained in Time (Oct. 29): "The U.S. is part of a great liberating revolution. . . . Soviet aggression is a reactionary attack against that revolution."

Liberating revolution—as in Korea with countless thousands completely liberated—from life, that is; as in Spain, Greece and elsewhere where liberty means to do as they are told lest they become "Korea-ized." Soviet aggression—with our bases surrounding every possible available mile of Soviet territory, with our mighty mailed fist against their nose! The nose, of course, aggresses the fist.

(Dr.) Ralph R. Sackley

Sold out

NEW YORK, N. Y.

We have received orders from all over the country for pamphlets in the English language from China, as a result of the mention in the GUARDIAN Oct. 31. This very generous response is an indication that people are eager to get information from original sources about the new rising democratic forces in the world. And to me it is a real revelation as to the numerous towns, cities and hamlets in the U.S.A. where the GUARDIAN has readers.

These new orders have exhausted the supply in stock, but we have sent a hurried order for more. We ask you to publish this letter so that your readers will know the cause of the delay.

Margaret Krumbein
Imported Pub. & Prods.

Correspondent, please

FOREST HILL, LONDON, ENG.

I chanced to obtain a copy of the GUARDIAN at a meeting recently. It is gratifying to know that there are so many progressives in the U.S.A.

I should be glad if you could find me a correspondent in U.S.A.

Ed Cully
5 Inglemere Rd.

Bury it deep

HONOLULU, T. H.

Having just read the Oct. 27 WAR ISSUE of Collier's, it is my earnest hope that the World Peace Congress and every peace organization in our country brand the editors and every writer who contributed to this monstrous fantasy as war criminals, as I believe every honest, decent American who reads the issue must do.

But that is not enough. Never have the American people been handed as fine a weapon with which to fight dishonesty and warmongering as they have in this shameful edition of a once respectable magazine. If every subscriber who condemns it in his heart were simply to cancel his subscription, Collier's would be buried as deep in a dishonorable grave as was the Literary Digest for publishing election lies. Fellow Americans, here is a job you CAN do.

Adele Kensinger

5 stars and stripes

PAHOKEE, FLA.

Enclosed find a nickel to help the GUARDIAN along; also some advice on the next election.

Both the Reps. and Dems. want Eisenhower for President. They already are Bi-Partisan—so why not have both to nominate and elect him, and then split the rest of the jobs between them? They would need another animal to represent them instead of the Elephant and the Jackass; but there is the Zebra.

R. E. Boe

"A tragic joke"

NEW ROCHELLE, N. Y.

I have written as follows to the President:

"The U.S. has certainly scraped the bottom of the barrel for allies when in all seriousness we send an official Ambassador to a medieval witch doctor who sees spooks in the sun! It is a hideously tragic joke. From the beginning of history militarily-inclined leaders have enlisted the aid of the superstitious salesmen in order to put the stamp of "holy war" upon their endeavors, so this maneuver has not even the claim of ingenuity. What is more, in official acknowledgement of the political status of the Vatican you now bring every practising American Catholic into the category of 'subversive,' since their first allegiance is to this foreign political power. When do the round-ups start?

"One no longer expects your administration to shrink at an obvious violation of the Constitution since you have already showed your contempt for that scrap of paper whenever it hampered your war effort. Only after it and all the glorious principles for which it stood lie in trampled bits around you will you acquire the reverence for its wisdom and spirit which you now so woefully lack—and for which we must suffer."

Mrs. George Roth

When is Gary wary?

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

In this morning's L. A. Times I read that Carl Foreman, who recently uncooperated with the Un-American Committee hearings here, has formed a new motion picture production company. One of the new company's chief stockholders is Gary Cooper. This forced me to recall again with amusement the account of Cooper's appearance before the committee in Washington when the Hollywood Ten were being drawn and quartered. Cooper was quoted as saying that he had never read any Karl Marx but from what he read in the newspapers he got the idea that communism "ain't on the level." All of which inclines me to conclude that Cooper's political understanding can be measured by this: He will associate himself with anyone with whom he can make money!

Harold Hoff

Congressional investigation

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

(A short, story story)

Republicans: "May Ye Boyle In Hades."

Democrats: "Gabrielson, Blow Thy Horn."

Isaiah Thayer

Dear Sir or Madame (as the case may be)

THE GUARDIAN's annual holiday letter to you will be arriving in a few days—a little earlier than usual but for a good reason.

Yes, the letter looks to '52 and to a renewal of the kind of backing you have given the GUARDIAN throughout the years past—but the difference this time is that as well as asking for something, we want to give you something by way of a holiday offering. Yours for the asking, for example, is a fine new book—Arthur D. Kahn's **SPEAK OUT . . . America Wants Peace**—or a selection of other good things from among our Buying Service wares which may be just what you need to piece out your gift list. Take your pick, but do it quick!

That's why our holiday letter is on its way earlier this year, and why we take this means to alert you to it.

There's something else of real value in the letter, too —a first-edition GUARDIAN Thrift Stamp, introducing a new, double discount plan in connection with our Buying Service. If you're a subscriber, you'll get the story within the week. If you get your paper via a club bundle order, bookshop or newsstand, better send us a penny postcard quickly and we'll send you a copy of our subscriber letter while there is still time to take advantage of it for the holidays.

—THE EDITORS

A Kem gem

GREAT FALLS, MONT.

The Great Falls Leader, Oct. 15, reports: "Senator Kem (R-Mo.) wants President Truman to appoint special prosecutors to sift evidence of 'widespread scandal in the Truman administration.'"

The question arises: Is the Republican senator crazy enuf to expect them to expose themselves? Sounds like the Old West road agent sheriff trying to catch the stage coach robber. Same difference.

Charles Joslyn

Time and the NG

KAHLOOPS, B. C., CANADA

I am enclosing a small cheque in reply to your appeal. I have been able to introduce the paper to quite a number of people in the city in which I am living. I always hand on old copies to other people. Unfortunately a great many people imagine they are getting the news in their daily papers and it takes time and the NATIONAL GUARDIAN to convince them that the so-called newspapers are giving them nothing but thinly-disguised war propaganda masquerading as defence measures plus the most outrageous untruths concerning events taking place in the outside world.

Name withheld

Different theater

BRONX, N. Y.

I would like to tell you about a wonderful evening I spent at the Club Baron in New York. The Committee for the Negro in the Arts is presenting two one-act plays, Swan Song by Chekov and a new, very exciting play called A Medal for Willie. I know readers of your paper will really be thrilled by this very different evening in the theatre.

Maureen Conrow

On to Hamburg

HAMBURG, GERMANY

As a reader of your fine paper while I was in Houston, Tex., I wish to request that you send me the GUARDIAN regularly. Since I have been deported from the States, I haven't been able to get it and certainly miss it.

Kurt Wittenberg

That old spirit

DUARTE, CALIF.

Doggone it, sir, reaction gets millions for lies and the public buys this trash. Yet, when a paper like the GUARDIAN brings the truth, it has to go begging. What's the trouble with labor? And all the other groups? Where is the good old American spirit to fight for the right?

Mrs. Peggy Zabby

How two women raised $350 for the Rosenbergs

DETROIT, MICH.

Several days ago I wrote you that we were planning a Family Dinner to raise funds for the Rosenbergs. Yesterday was the dinner and today instead of feeling droopy and tired, I am exhilarated and inspired.

The wonderful articles in the GUARDIAN had made us feel that more people should know what is going on. My girl friend and I wanted to do something, and wanted it to reflect symbolically the Rosenberg family. Hence we called our affair a Family Dinner. Since we are very busy people we did not do much more than mail out our 100 invitations with personal comments to each party.

Telephone responses started to pour in, people asking what they could do, etc. We figured at last count on about 75 people (but we were so wrong!) So on Friday night and all day Saturday (our day off) we cooked and cleaned and rearranged the home for the occasion. Oh, yes, one important thing. We clipped every single article you wrote about the Rosenbergs, including letters of support from people all over the world, and put it together in a large portfolio. We left it on the piano where everyone had wonderful opportunity to read it.

Well, Sunday at 2 p.m. things started to pop! People kept pouring in from then until 8 p.m. Their response was terrific. Everybody wanted to pitch in and work. We had volunteers in the study supervising play activities of the children; kitchen help comprising all professions and arts. Young and old were united in one common purpose—to help the Rosenbergs.

One group of 10 people brought in a check for $50 from their reading club; several people gave large contributions, too. But, in the main, our group were lower middle class people who manage to just make a living. Everyone gave what he could. Not everyone was clear or knew all the details of the case and we urged them to read the articles. One young man of nine gave his 40c allowance. A young psychiatrist read the book of articles with extreme caution—his obvious first exposure to such materials—and his final comment: "There's no question they were railroaded."

We heard over and over from people that they would like to see the material in pamphlet form. We knew from people who did not come because they believed the Rosenbergs guilty that it was most important for wider distribution of literature. Please do what you can to publish these pamphlets.

And so now to tell you the thing you are waiting for, and hope that you will be as pleased as we were. We made $350, and are enclosing the check.

Keep up the good work! We're with you all the way!

Two Detroit professional women

Have you got 4 friends

for the GUARDIAN's 4th year?

Send a gift with a year-'round lift! — **$2 a year—$1 for 30 weeks**

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2	
3	
4	

SENDER ....

NATIONAL GUARDIAN — **17 Murray Street, New York 7, N. Y.**

Why the cold war scares some of the tycoons who helped start it

(*Continued from Page 1*)

The profits picture will give some clue. The recent serious stock-market break and decline in 3rd-quarter profits after taxes reported by corporations do not mean that the profit has suddenly gone out of rearmament (the profits reports are deliberately misrepresented, see below). Corporate profits before taxes achieved an all-time high in 1950's Korean War boom and in general are holding close to that fabulous level. An apparent declining trend in 1951's first half is explained by the fact that several billions in 1950's profits were windfalls—rising valuations of stocks in hand. These windfalls were not repeated this year. Corporate profits, adjusted by the Dept. of Commerce for inventory revaluation, show a slow rise in 1951's first half, with profits, so adjusted, reaching 15.8% of the national income as compared to 15.7% in 1950's second half, 14.2% in the boom year of 1948, and 11.2% in the last "normal" boom, 1929.

UNCONSUMING CONSUMERS: But within this general picture there is unevenness. Profits-before-taxes of companies making capital goods, and raw materials for war industries and construction of war plants, as well as war industries themselves, continue to rise (e.g. U.S. Steel: $145,000,000 in 1950's 3rd quarter, $168,000,000 in 1951's). But profits-before-taxes of companies making consumer goods, especially consumer durables, have declined owing to the slump in consumer buying.

Reduced living standards, resulting from inflation, higher taxes, the wage freeze, are reflected in huge stocks of unsold goods, production cutbacks, layoffs. The Federal Reserve Board index

Drawing by Fred Wright

"Well, we have democracy here — what more do you want?"

of passenger car production dropped from 173 in 1950's second half to 113 last August (1947-49 equals 100); of household goods (carpets, furniture, appliances, radio, television), from 156 to 88. The drop in GM's profits-before-taxes from $477,000,000 in 1950's 3rd quarter to $324,000,000 in 1951's reflects the fact that it is selling fewer cars and not yet producing enough war materials to take up the slack.

CAUTION—SLIPPERY: Loss of civilian markets now, fear that it will deepen in the future, uncertainty over where rearmament will end: these are factors in Wilson's worries. The **Journal of Commerce** in a number of recent articles has been noting widespread business fears of an imminent "business slide" and "post-defense buildup recession." The core of these fears, it has pointed out, is that consumer buying will go on declining and either military spending won't make up for it (those who fear an imminent slide) or its end will bring "recession." Of the potentials of consumer buying, this paper—no friend of the working man—said (Oct. 17) that while government figures on disposable income are up,

> **. . . the rise in disposable income may be checked when the new taxes go into effect. Wage rates are creeping up but will have to do a lot of creeping to offset the bigger tax bite. Increases in income since last year have varied greatly among the different segments of the population. Measured against increases in the cost of living many are worse off than in 1950.**

Every major war (said the **J of C** Oct. 24) has been followed by boom and, with the satisfaction of pent-up consumer demand, bust. World War II's pent-up consumer demands "have been largely met"; and were it not for "the international situation and the stepping-up of defense expenditures," there would have been little need to recall these "historical war and post-war patterns." Reporting that "the bears are out in force once again" (Oct. 22) it declined to go along with those who fear a business slide soon, believing

> **. . . that the defense program is only now beginning to take hold and is bound to push business activity higher. . . . [Yet this did not answer] the key question of how high business will go under the impetus of the defense program and when the peak will be reached.**

The **J of C's** own view was that "barring a prolonged all-out war," defense spending (concentrated largely in durable goods) will push the index of durable goods production up faster, but that "it won't be nearly as high" as in World War II. Furthermore it found "the threat of a post defense build-up recession is very real. A 'durable goods holiday' is what we have to fear."

PRIME IT AGAIN: In their own way the **J of C,** GM's Wilson, the Detroit **News** are stating one of the basic contradictions of capitalism. Rearmament spending has indeed primed the business pump, kept the economy going. But in the process it is so impoverishing the people that the critical gap between production and consumption has widened, necessitating more pump-priming, entailing further impoverishment, a still further widening of the gap—and, looming nearer, war to stave off collapse. Although they would not recognize the contradiction as inherent in capitalism, Wilson & Co. are caught in it and begin to fear the outcome. Surprisingly, some believe their only hope is to break the wage freeze. The **J of C,** Nov. 15, reporting expected speedy settlement of steel workers' wage demands, held that this "should contribute toward a return of sellers' markets in durable goods next year."

Furthermore the cost of the arms pump-priming, borne largely by the people, is beginning to affect business, too. Profits are higher, and the tax rate (including excess profits) still much lower, than during World War II. Corporate reports—with an eye to growing labor revolt against the wage freeze, and upcoming wage negotiations—have deliberately exaggerated the impact of the recent tax increase. One common device is to include in 3rd-quarter figures taxes charged retroactively against earlier months. (U.S. Steel's report, for example, showed a drop from $59,700,000 in 1950's 3rd quarter to $27,900,000 in 1951's, but corrected for the retroactive tax factor the drop is only to $45,400,000.) Another is to list, as U.S. Rubber has done, exaggerated estimates of what taxes will be. Still another is to show the effect of the tax law on 3rd-quarter '51 profits but not the 1950 excess profits tax enacted retroactively on 3rd-quarter '50 profits.

But with all that the profit-after-tax trend is definitely downward. This suggests that the lushest profiteering of the mobilization boom may already be over (in World War II the period of the freest profiteering ended in 1941). From here on out, taxes will take most of the extra gained from war contracts.

"NOBODY WINS": For a number of corporate interests, therefore, the war program has already gone far enough, if not too far. They see "the spending is too great to be borne without doing substantial damage to the country's economy" (Natl. City Bank Letter, Oct., 1951). They don't relish higher taxes. They fear putting all their eggs in one basket. This fear was clearly expressed in Wilson's recent proposal for "dual purpose" plants—an effort to counter the tempo of the arms program, to avoid overbuilding, to assure that the new technology will not go exclusively to war plants. They fear loss of civilian markets and of effective control of their own operations.

If they could set all-time profit records on a war budget of forty billion, why kick it up to a hundred billion when this entails all these risks plus the greatest risk of all—war? The fear of war is real and growing and many recognize it will mean loss of the whole stake, disaster for capitalism.

This fear of the consequences of U.S. policy was bluntly stated by **U.S. News,** on Nov. 2: "War that the U.S. prepares for would blow up much of the world, if it started. Nobody wins, all lose that war." Contrasting the "U.S. style" war and the war it says Russia is already fighting and winning without use of its

Wall Street Journal

"When you say I'm as sound as a dollar, doctor I assume you're referring to pre-war value."

armed forces, **U.S. News** continued:

> **War preparation, U.S. style, aimed at some imaginary war that Russia will not fight unless attacked, is geared to yield disaster for all. If this imaginary war of the future is fought, it promises to blow up everybody and everything. Its conception is that of horror and obliteration. Its aim, as officially outlined, is to leave the world a shambles that nobody but a Communist would want to run.**
>
> **If the U.S. style war is not fought, there is the prospect of economic disaster when preparation for that imaginary war slows. Communists plan to be around to pick up the pieces.**
>
> **Either way it goes, so far as anyone can learn from this country's planners, the end product of American planning is something like chaos.**

THEY MADE THEIR BED: Somewhat similar fears have been expressed by National Steel's Ernest T. Weir, J. F. Lincoln, prominent midwest industrialist active in the Chamber of Commerce, Cowles publishers and others.

The irony is that these interests which now want to ease off on the cold-war-arms-spending program no longer have a political voice; they are prisoners of the program they helped initiate. Before the MacArthur episode Taft more or less represented them politically, but since Taft embraced the MacArthur program, they are left with the choice between two—not very different—military policies. Their marriage to the military is not a happy one, but the military has shown who's boss and they cannot procure a quick divorce.

For the U.S. is ruled today by the military in league with the powerful handful of business interests, led by the oil companies, who still see no limit to profits in the war drive and who risk war because they need war against the colonial and semi-colonial peoples to perpetuate their riches.

ECONOMIC WEATHER REPORT

"Lumme—a total eclipse coming up."

Drawings from Daily Worker, London

"Lumme — the only thing that's not going up."

The Gallup Poll (Oct. 10) showed that 88% of the people (almost 9 out of 10) have only the vaguest notion how much the U.S. is spending on arms: 34% didn't know, 38% thought less than 5 billion dollars, 9% less than 25 billion, 9% less than 50 billion.

The cost of the Morgan-Rockefeller cold war, which was launched in 1946, can be measured this way:

IN the six fiscal years 1947-52, the government will have spent over $270,000,000,000. Of this:

- 10% has gone for the people's welfare.
- 60% has gone for the cold war.
- 20% to pay for past wars.
- 10% for the normal cost of government.

In those years, cold-war spending (military expenditures here and abroad, atomic energy, etc.) totaled about $225,000,000,000, including the appropriations authorized by Congress this year. Subtracting from this sum the upkeep of a normal military establishment, the U.S. has spent roughly $200,000,000,000 to rearm itself and the world.

In addition, the cold war has cost the American people about $150,000,000,000 in inflated prices. So the real cold war cost is in the neighborhood of

THREE HUNDRED AND FIFTY BILLION DOLLARS.

THIS money is really lost; it is not productive spending; people cannot eat, wear or live in armaments. Used productively it could have built a home for every family in the country, built all the schools, hospitals, recreation areas the country needs, controlled the rivers, preventing such disasters as happened this year when the Missouri flooded—and still left enough over to share with the 60% or more of the world's people who don't have enough to eat.

Reducing the billions to the simple terms of the average American: He is now paying twice as much in taxes as he would, had there been no cold war — and 50% more in prices. Should the cold war end, the worker earning $60 a week could cut $200 out of his present tax bill; his wife could buy at least a third more with the dollars she had to spend.

Instead, the recent Congress with its "price control" and tax laws legislated a 20% or more cut in the average American's standard of living.

Allies jittery at 'dubious' U. S. report

(Continued from Page 1)

for its air and naval superiority, were later confirmed by the U. S. itself.

On Aug. 17 the Communists indicated willingness to abandon the 38th Parallel, settle on present battlelines. A major UN offensive and a series of U. S.-South Korean violations of the neutral zone followed, with the result that the talks were broken off Aug. 22 and not resumed despite repeated Communist offers until Oct. 25, when the Communists again conceded—changing the site and abandoning insistence on UN admission of responsibility for the provocations.

XMAS & GEN. NUCKOLS: The Communists yielded on the 38th Parallel, agreed to the present battleline. Rejecting the offer—though it had long claimed it was demanding just that—the U. S. demanded Kaesong and other "adjustments." The Communists then offered a cease-fire line along the battleline **with or without adjustments.** This offer was suppressed by the U. S., revealed in Peking radio broadcasts.

The U. S. suddenly did an about face, insisted there could be no cease-fire until all other questions were settled,

Lidove Noviny, Prague

"Chin up, old man!"

that the line should fall on the then battleline. The Peking radio, but not the U. S. press, reported that the Communists had accepted even this demand. Wilfred Burchett, Australian with the Chinese forces, reported the Communist negotiators as holding:

> If the Americans want to indulge in new military adventures between the time the cease-fire line is agreed and the signing of the armistice, there is nothing to prevent them. This side has not asked for a so-called de facto cease-fire and is prepared to incorporate changes in the line of contact in the final demarcation line at the time of the signing of the armistice.

London **Daily Worker** reporter Alan Winnington cabled:

> American newsmen's first reaction to the proposal this afternoon was: "We could be home by Christmas. It seems to take all our objections into account. Looks good. Maybe this is the real break at last." But this was before [U. S. negotiator Brig. Gen. Wm. P.] Nuckols got at them.

PURPOSELY AVOIDING PEACE? Publication of the atrocity story came when this stand was beginning to be known. Reston reported (**Times, Nov. 15**):

> Ever since the Communists agreed to abandon the 38th Parallel . . . and to meet the UN demand that the cease-fire line should be roughly where the battle lines now stand . . . there has been some feeling not only within other Allied governments but within the U. S. government that the military negotiators were quibbling over details and prolonging the discussions unnecessarily. Several days ago it appeared that a compromise finally had been arranged on the cease-fire line, at which time Secy. of State Acheson speaking in UN meetings in Paris attacked the Chinese Communists for conduct below the level of "barbarians." When this attack was followed during the critical moment of the armistice negotiations by Col. Hanley's atrocities report, even officials here conceded it might look to the world as if the U. S. was purposely trying to avoid a cease-fire.

Was it 'a vast blunder'?

The Washington **Post** asked if the atrocity report was designed "to mobilize public opinion behind the UN demands." Peking radio called it "a new excuse manufactured to delay the armistice talks," asked: If the alleged massacre did take place, why did the Allies place a ban last February on interviews with prisoners set free by the Communists? Hanley's report, while giving fuel to the war crowd, may have been from Washington's point of view the "political blunder of vast proportions" which Reston called it: it brought the U. S.'s allies, particularly Britain, back into the Korean picture.

Although not reported in the U. S. press (except for the **Compass**), the semi-official London **Times** on Nov. 9—before the Hanley report—had called for "an immediate cease fire at the same time trying to reach agreement on the outlines of a final settlement." It implied the UN at Paris should take over the negotiations from the U. S. military. The N.Y. **Times** had reported from London Nov. 17

> . . . increasing signs of restiveness and disquiet among the British people over the failure of the negotiations to produce a cease-fire order in Korea. The question is being raised seriously whether it is American or Communist intransigence that is at fault. [The unease extends into Conservative circles, and] a suspicion exists that the U. S. . . . wants to prolong the fighting.

30 BUSY DAYS: Obviously under the pressure of Britain and other allies, Washington at the week-end produced another proposal in what Reston called "a serious effort to bring negotiations to a close": hostilities to continue until a complete armistice is signed; the present "line of contact" to be the provisional cease-fire line; the cease-fire line to become effective only if the armistice is signed in 30 days; if it is not, then the battlefront at that time will become the new demarcation line pending full agreement.

In the 30 days three issues had to be settled: agreement on exchange of war prisoners; establishment of a joint commission to police the armistice and agreement on its functions; recommendations to governments concerned (under which the Communists will certainly introduce the question of withdrawal of foreign troops, and key political questions of a Far East settlement).

Krokodil, Moscow

"Our soldiers are not fighting well because they don't know what they're fighting for—but if we tell them they may not fight at all."

Pentagon moves to Paris

DESPITE a series of thumping UN ballot victories, Washington wrestled with growing difficulties in Paris which now had "the look not only of a world capital, as host to the UN General Assembly, but also of an overseas Pentagon" (N.Y. **Times**, Nov. 18). Half of the U. S.'s top officials were in Europe (Reston), mostly in Paris, trying to cope with "the lack of success" of U. S. policies (**Times**, Nov. 18).

The Assembly dutifully voted, over Soviet opposition, not even to talk about China's representation, to hear Tito's and Chiang Kai-shek's charges against Moscow, to consider establishment of a commission to study the question of elections in Germany, [illegible] give the U. S. "disarmament" plan top spot on the agenda, put the Soviet plan far down on the list. But Britain's Eden won world-wide applause with a plea for a "fresh start" to peace, a cease-fire in the war of words. India's Rau demanded that UN face facts about China. In the race for Yugoslavia's seat on the Security Council, "Britain and several other European countries" (**Times**) want to support the Soviet, not the U. S. candidates.

REASONS FOR ANGER: The Western disarmament plan, reported Thomas J. Hamilton to the **Times** (Nov. 18), "was so hedged with political conditions that it lost much of its appeal for Western Europe and the non-Communist world generally." Vishinsky made new proposals: unconditional outlawing of the A-bomb, strict control with a draft atomic control treaty to be submitted to the Security Council by Feb. 1, 1952; a one-third reduction in arms; all states to provide complete information on their armed forces, atomic weapons, bases abroad within a month of the decision to outlaw the bomb; that an international control organ be established within the framework of the Security Council. The concrete proposals seemed to make a deep impression.

From Paris Ella Winter summed up the atmosphere for the GUARDIAN:

> The Americans are flabbergasted at the opposition here—not so much left-wing but industrialists, business people, even Gaullists and Socialists. There is much more anger than is reported. Americans [illegible] in a dream world or are beginning to f[illegible] the real one. [French Foreign Minister] Schuman didn't want to go to Rome for the North Atlantic Pact meeting. Newspapermen talk of NATO as "dead." The economic difficulties of England and France are real. [Progressive leader] Pierre Cot is optimistic for the first time, says "they must see now they are without friends or allies: the Arab world, the little countries, the Mid East—all are being lost."

That something of the real world was filtering through even to Washington was indicated by columnist Joseph Alsop, who wrote (Nov. 16) that the danger now is not the "'imminent risk of Kremlin aggression" but "of a serious breakdown within the Western Alliance."

Paper tigers

WHEN a government grown arrogant with military power is stopped in its tracks by an "Asiatic horde" armed with love of their own land, its propaganda may be expected to throw off the last restraints and become utterly vicious. So it was with Hitler's propaganda after the Russian "horde" stopped his "unconquerable" armies outside Moscow and finally at Stalingrad. So it is now with U. S. propaganda as our frustrated "policemen," having been compelled to negotiate for a truce in Korea, make a last effort to kindle fires of murderous hatred in an American people which —civilian and soldier alike—is sick of senseless bloodshed and crying out for peace.

After a week in which the press has been filled with "red atrocity" reports, cartoons and editorials, most Americans who strive for sober judgment are confused as to the facts—if any—and as to who is really responsible for launching the propaganda campaign.

The purpose of it is, however, not in much doubt. The campaign began just at the most critical juncture in the truce talks; just when it was being reported from the front (see George Barrett's N.Y. **Times** dispatch quoted in last week's GUARDIAN) that consciousness of U. S. stalling and Communist good faith in the truce talks was sweeping through UN forces in Korea; just when the efforts to admit China to UN (an obvious necessity if UN is ever to function as a world organization) was being resumed in Paris. And with it came a new, equally vague and unconfirmable, propaganda blast of a "red blackmail" campaign by mail directed at Chinese Americans with relatives in China, and an intensification of the familiar nonsensical charges about "anti-Semitism" in Russia, a reign of terror in Rumania, persecution of the church throughout the socialist world etc. etc.

THE fact that there are no facts to support all the charges of "sub-barbarism," which the "atrocity report" neatly enabled Truman, Acheson and Co. to hurl at the socialist world just at this grim and fragile moment, is unimportant to the propagandists as it was unimportant to Hitler. Truth has become a stranger to them. As for ourselves, we likewise have no facts either to confirm or refute the "atrocities"; we differ from the propagandists in that we don't purport to have any.

We are, however, able to appraise the probabilities from the wealth of facts available about the nature and spirit of the New China regime. And we may perhaps pause to point out that the press which now banner-headlines the "red atrocities" has systematically suppressed all the facts about the New China; it has suppressed the Women's International Commission report on atrocities committed by UN forces—a report documented from first to last with names, places, dates and eye-witness statements (equally available to them as to the GUARDIAN); it has suppressed statements by hundreds of American POW's testifying to the humane treatment they have received from Chinese and North Korean authorities. It had every right to challenge with whatever facts it could muster the validity of these reports. But by suppressing the very fact of their existence it has forfeited all claim to objectivity.

IGNORED in this whole sorry affair by those who claim so much respect for "human dignity" have been the feelings of the thousands of American families already racked with suspense as to the fate of their loved ones "missing" in Korea.

Hundreds of such families are, we know, members of our own family of GUARDIAN readers. We urge these people to remain strong in faith that behind Washington's callous propaganda curtain their POW sons and husbands are being well cared for, and will return in good health and spirits when "Operation Killer" is finally stalemated. And we charge all who read these words to strengthen in their circle the ancient American insistence on facts and refusal to be moved from the path of peace by unsubstantiated reports from any source. In the blind hatred the propagandists seek to stir up, there is no salvation for any of us, only destruction.

We have had other trial balloons in the cold war. Last year Navy Secy. Francis Matthews called for a "preventive war," against the same background of apparent confusion as to who was really making the pitch that we see now in the "red atrocity" affair. This is a tried and true method of launching trial balloons—a statement by some minor official which can be declared "unauthorized" if the public fails to react. The public repudiated the implications of the Matthews balloon then; we think it will repudiate the implications of the Col. Hanley balloon now.

The cold war is primarily a war against YOU—a ceaseless propaganda barrage to soften up your resistance to hot war. Remember that the increasing viciousness of the propaganda is merely a sign of the increasing desperation of the propagandists. As the "sub-barbarian" Mao Tse-tung of China once said about "the terror-making power of reactionaries":

"They are paper tigers, terrible to look at but wilting when the rains come."

The rains are coming.

—THE EDITORS

FREEDOMS

Rogge testifies for govt. in DuBois peace trial

ON Nov. 13, in the criminal division of the district court in Washington, D.C., the trial of Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, world-famed scholar, and four white co-defendants got under way before a jury of eight Negroes and four whites—seven of them government employes. The charge: that the five failed to register as foreign agents while heading the now-defunct Peace Information Center. The penalty, if convicted: five years imprisonment, $10,000 fine.

The government charges that the "foreign principal" in the case is the executive committee of the World Congress of Defenders of Peace, now called the World Peace Council.

Drawing by Maurice Becker

The Angel of Peace and the "Foreign Agent"

HARRIED & ADMONISHED: Star witness for the government at the opening session was attorney O. John Rogge, for years associated with the world peace movement, now himself a registered foreign agent as the $10,000-a-year U.S. legal representative of the Yugoslav government. Reporters described him as "nervous, harried and worn." Rogge had hard going from the start. Asked to describe a peace congress held in Paris in 1949, he named a list of U.S. delegates. On the objection of chief defense counsel Vito Marcantonio he was admonished by Judge Matthew F. McGuire that "these persons are not on trial here." The names were stricken from the record.

Asked to describe the aims and purposes of the PIC, he shouted over Marcantonio's objections:

> "Its stated objective was to work for world peace . . . actually it was an agency of Soviet foreign policy."

At another point he said the purpose of the World Congress of Defenders of Peace was to focus world attention on the U.S. and the atom-bomb and to distract it from "aggression in the east, specifically, in Korea."

U.S.S.R. "NOT ON TRIAL": Later, after consultation with attorneys, Judge McGuire ordered these statements stricken from the record, instructed the jurors to disregard them. When government attorneys argued for the right to show the defendants "guilty" in "lauding the Soviet Union as a champion of peace and criticizing the policies of the U. S.", he ruled that out, too:

> "We are not trying the foreign policy of the Soviet Union or the foreign policy of the United States or the foreign policy of any government in the world."

Cross-examined, Rogge admitted:

- That he invited DuBois to work with the world peace movement. (Rogge identified his signature on a letter asking DuBois to attend the 1949 Paris congress.)
- That he called a meeting in his home on March 1, 1950, to discuss "forming a group to coordinate peace activity in the U. S." The group became the PIC.
- That he signed the Stockholm Appeal to outlaw the atom-bomb at the Stockholm conference which launched it.

IS PEACE FOREIGN? Rogge's testimony collapsed when a copy of his formal registration as a Yugoslav agent was produced by Marcantonio. In answer to the question: "What other connections with foreign principals do you have?", Rogge had written:

> I do not think I have any other except those listed. I did attend peace conferences in Paris, Prague, and Wroclaw, but I do not regard these organizations as a foreign government, political party or principal.

Commented I. F. Stone, political writer for the N.Y. **Daily Compass**:

> O. John Rogge betrayed himself and the cause of peace when he testified for the government. . . . If this is his opinion, he should have been a witness for the defense, not for the prosecution.

During the week the government called three other witnesses to identify the other four defendants as officers of the PIC. By noon Thursday the prosecution ran out of witnesses, although it is expected to call a total of 22. Trial was recessed till Monday.

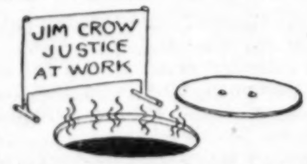
JIMCROW JUSTICE AT WORK

Sheriff killer 'cleared' in Fla.

THE State of Florida last week closed the door to any action against Lake County Sheriff Willis McCall and Deputy Sheriff James L. Yates, who shot and killed one Negro prisoner and gravely wounded another while transferring them from prison to Tavares for a retrial ordered by the Supreme Court (GUARDIAN, Nov. 14). Circuit Judge Truman Futch refused to order a grand jury investigation of the shootings, said the coroner's jury which cleared the sheriff had "done a thorough job." The jury, upon which sat several of the sheriff's close friends, had declined to hear any evidence that might have backed up the charge of Walter Irvin, the surviving victim, that he and Samuel Shepherd had been shot down in cold blood while handcuffed together.

An on-the-spot reporter for the New York **Post** wrote that Gov. Fuller Warren had personally assured the sheriff no state action would be taken against him. The governor himself, currently on a state-wide tour seeking to regain popularity lost through Kefauver Committee revelations, has maintained silence on the shootings. So has his State Attorney.

SLUG IN THE SAND: FBI agents, still "investigating," found a spent .38 bullet in the sand beneath the spot where the victims lay, sent it and the sheriff's gun to Washington for laboratory tests. If the two match, it will pretty convincingly prove that at least one shot was fired while the two men lay on the ground. But even if the federal government decides to prosecute, the charge will be violation of civil rights with a maximum penalty of one year imprisonment, $1,000 fine.



Protests, both in the U. S. and abroad, were growing and might kick open Florida's closed door, force the state to act, if they got big enough.

The Natl. Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People launched a campaign to collect 1,000,000 signatures to petitions demanding justice, called on Atty. Gen. McGrath to prosecute McCall for contempt of the Supreme Court. The Natl. Lawyers Guild called for a special grand jury to be convened to receive the evidence now being assembled by the FBI (its final report was expected in a week or 10 days). The Guild also urged the appointment of a special attorney general to take charge of the case.

The NAACP recalled that when the Supreme Court reversed the convictions, Sheriff McCall charged that the court had been swayed by the NAACP and the Newspaper Guild, said:

> "It is shocking to think that our Supreme Court would bow to such subversive influence."

Meanwhile Judge Futch granted a change of venue for Irvin when he is recovered enough to stand trial; it will be held in Gainesville, some 60 miles north of Tavares. The case grew out of a four-day reign of terror against the Negro community of Groveland two years ago. Irvin and Shepherd and two other Negroes were charged with rape. One is serving a life sentence, the other was shot dead at the time by a posse.

N. C. farmer re-indicted for 75-foot 'assault'

MACK INGRAM, 44-year-old farmer near Yanceyville, N.C., rents his land but owns his farm animals and implements, keeps three-fourths of his crops. Some white folks think this is too much for a Negro. Last June Ingram was arrested, brought to trial on a charge of attempted assault on a female. A white girl testified he had "looked peculiarly" at her from a distance of 75 feet. He was sentenced to two years, appealed the conviction, posted $1,500 bail.

Last week his appeal was to have been heard. A grand jury hastily handed up a new indictment charging assault with intent to rape, which carries a 15-year penalty. He was hurried to trial immediately and the appeal was blocked. But when the state had presented its evidence, the trial judge reduced the charge again to attempted assault. The jry, with four Negroes on it, had to be locked up for the night when it failed to reach a quick decision. Next day a mistrial was declared; two of the Negro jurors held out for acquittal.

Oakland youth tried again

IN October, 1949, Jerry Newson, 20-year-old Negro, attempted in Oakland, Calif., an amateurish hold-up with a battered .45 pistol which was unloaded. Nine days later a pharmacist and a clerk were killed in a hold-up of an Oakland drugstore. Newson was charged with the crime, convicted and sentenced to death although the prosecution failed to prove his presence at the scene of the crime. The Civil Rights Congress took up his case, successfully appealed it to the State Supreme Court which reversed the conviction.

Last week Newson was being tried a second time, was confident his innocence will be established. Of four ballistics experts, only one identified Newson's gun as the murder weapon.

Chain-gang graduate fights extradition to Ala.

WHEN Willie Thomas, Negro, was 14 he helped two older men rob a store. The State of Alabama sentenced him to life imprisonment. He spent 11 years on a chain gang, then escaped. For five years he has lived in Albany, N.Y., worked steadily, acquired a family of five children with a sixth expected. Recently police staged a routine harassing raid in Albany's Negro community, picked up Thomas with a group of other men. All were released in a few hours, but not before their fingerprints were taken. Thomas is now being held for extradition to Alabama. Gov. Dewey has signed the papers authorizing Thomas' return.

Last week the Civil Rights Congress was conducting a state-wide campaign to save Willie Thomas from the chain-gang. Thomas said:

> "I knew the police were checking my fingerprints ten days before they arrested me. I did not have to let them get me. I could have gotten away. But I am tired of running. Now I want to stand and fight—fight for my right to be out of jail and to be with my family. A man should not have to spend the rest of his life in jail just because he is a Negro."

CICERO MASS RALLY: Chicagoans last week were busily preparing for a huge rally Nov. 25 in the Chicago Coliseum to protest failure of Illinois authorities to indict the leaders and instigators of the mob which rioted for three days in Cicero and destroyed an apartment building to keep a Negro family from moving into it. Two weeks ago a Chicago judge threw out indictments charging victims of the mob with inciting it.

The one good word on Armistice Day

THIRTY-THREE years ago World War I—the war to end war—came to a close. There has been scarcely a day of peace in the world since. But over the Nov. 11 week-end every U. S. community observed Armistice Day and remembered the war dead of a generation ago. In many places peace organizations used the day to raise new demands for a cease-fire in Korea. But most official observances stressed the martial spirit. Typical was the three-mile long parade in Denver, Colo. Brass bands led contingents from the Army, Navy, Marine Corps and Air Force; ROTC units from high schools marched; there were school kids the Denver **Post** described as "not even old enough to carry guns"; all the big veterans' organizations were out in force; warplanes roared overhead.

But at the very end of the parade marched a sturdy, weatherbeaten man in overseas cap and a fur-collared windbreaker, his back straight, his head up, his chin forward. He carried a home-made placard bearing one big word: "PEACE."

To the **Post** he seemed to "represent no one but himself." But he had earned the right to his slogan; his son was killed in Korea, lies buried in the Denver-National cemetery.

Picture from Denver Post

N. Y. conference moves to end arts jimcrow

OF 20,000 persons employed in advertising, 36 are Negroes; of 43,000 members of the American Bar Assn., six are Negroes; the largest union in the movie industry hasn't a single Negro member. Similar startling figures for other fields prompted a week-end conference of the N.Y. Arts, Sciences & Professions Council which called upon President Truman to name a fact-finding committee "to conduct an investigation of the state of jimcrow in the arts, sciences and professions and recommend appropriate action to Congress."

The 500 delegates recommended:

- That major radio and TV networks enforce their own stated principles of "integrating" Negroes into the industry, and that each network immediately sponsor at least one major evening program created, produced and presented by Negroes.
- That the FCC withdraw licenses where stereotypes and job discrimination are practised.
- That the Natl. Council of ASP work toward an international conference on equal rights in the arts, sciences and professions early in 1952 with delegates from Europe, Asia, Africa and the Americas.

'Dangerous' mother's children removed

MRS. Jean Field awoke in the middle of a night in May, 1940, in her apartment in Chickasha, Okla., and found a note from her husband:

> I no longer want the responsibility of a wife and two children, so here it is in your lap. Sorry, but that's the way it is.

The children were Jay, three years old, and Mary Kaye, three weeks old. Mrs. Field had exactly three cents in her possession.

For the next ten years she took care of the children with no help from their deserting father. She eventually moved from Oklahoma to California, provided them an excellent home, helped with their education (they received highest marks), and taught them to respect all people regardless of the color of their skin. In the summer of 1950 Mrs. Field let the children go to Oklahoma for a vacation with their grandmother on their father's side.

DANGEROUSLY DEMOCRATIC: The grandmother did not like their views on racial prejudice, objected to a letter their mother wrote them answering questions they had asked about the Korean war. In September Jean Field was notified that their father had petitioned to regain their custody. She went to Oklahoma and was confronted with a court action demanding a change in custody based exclusively on the racial and progressive views of the children and herself. The home conditions their father offered were intolerable. Mrs. Field drove back to California with Jay and Mary Kaye.

A month later their father appeared in California with an Oklahoma writ; Mrs. Field was arrested on a "child-stealing" charge, the children were taken into custody by juvenile authorities. Gov. Warren refused an extradition order for her, but the father won a California court order upholding the Oklahoma custody ruling. He took the children back to that state, where they still are. Mrs. Field is not allowed to write or to speak with them by phone; even her mother may not see them.

The case has deeply stirred Southern California progressives who have organized a Jean Field Committee (5010 Sunset Blvd., Rm. 9, Los Angeles 27) to help her fight through further court actions to regain her children. She intends to fight all the way:

> "My two children whom I love more than anything else in the world, were taken away from me mainly because I taught them that they should never discriminate against people because of race, creed or color."

3,000 protest CRC harassment, jailings

UPWARDS of 3,000 people from all corners of the country have signed an open letter to Atty. Gen. J. Howard McGrath protesting the imprisonment on contempt charges of four trustees of the bail fund of the Civil Rights Congress. The four—Frederick Field, Dashiell Hammett, Abner Green and Dr. Alpheus Hunton—refused to turn over the names of thousands of bail fund contributors, demanded by federal authorities ostensibly in connection with the search for four U. S. Communist Party leaders who failed to surrender for imprisonment after the Supreme Court confirmed the Foley Square convictions of 11 top CP leaders.

Efforts to publish the statement as a paid ad along with some 600 signatures have succeeded thus far in the **Afro-American**, the Washington (D.C.) **Star** and the St. Louis **Post Dispatch**. The N.Y. **Times** rejected the ad on the ground that the case was "in litigation." The N.Y. **Herald Tribune** just rejected it, period.

Copies of the ad, sponsored primarily by Robert Morss Lovett, Elmer Benson, journalist I. F. Stone, UAW leader William Hood, Fred Stover and Robert W. Kenny, are available at Suite 1302, 11 West 42 St., New York 18.

A word of cheer for the boys in Korea

This, according to the picture agency caption, is how Cpl. John R. Brigley of Lee, Mass., "whiles away his time in a foxhole somewhere in Korea. . . . The atomic bomb is the only thing the Communists haven't thrown at Brigley and the other members of the UN army." Maybe there's something wrong with our ears—but we could have sworn it was Americans we heard threatening to throw the atomic bomb at the Communist army.

A CONTINENTAL ARMY OF PROGRESSIVES

It's time for America to learn about the Americas

By Elmer Bendiner

THERE ARE Anaconda copper mines in Silver Bow County, Montana, and in Atacem Province, Chile. The bosses are the same, the dividends are paid into the same pockets, the foremen are interchangeable. But there the similarity ends: profits do not stop at borders; unionism does.

A Chilean miner for Anaconda produces twice as much as a North American for one-fourth of his wages. If that happened in Utah, Montana miners would see the threat and know what to do about it—join hands with Utah.

When Mine-Mill struck the big four copper companies recently Chilean workers went right on producing copper for the same companies. Chilean workers have struck too. They suffered police terror, imprisonment and the apparent unconcern of fellow workers for the same companies in Montana and elsewhere in the U. S.

Wherever big companies stretch across borders, as do United Fruit and Standard Oil, the picture is the same: a dangerous isolation of one group of American workers from another.

NOT ONE DROP: The isolation of U.S. progressives from a whole continent of natural, necessary allies is just as obvious and as alarming in other fields.

For example, there is a great group of workers in the Americas who have vowed they would not produce for war, but few in the U.S. know of them. There is such a union and it is ignored. The Venezuelan oil workers, powerful though illegal, carry on their banners the pledge: "Not a drop of oil for war." And Venezuela produces three times as much oil as does Iran, more than all Asia combined.

The talk of empire turns mainly, among U. S. progressives, to Washington's encroachment on the Middle East. Yet the cause of freedom in the U. S. colony of Puerto Rico is rarely mentioned, save in formal resolutions. The great backyard of the U. S. Empire, its readiest source of raw materials and manpower, the most directly ruled, directly oppressed captive continent in the world, is a backwater in world news.

COFFEE ON THE TABLE: The backyard is vast, its operations are significant and as close to us as sugar on the table (from San Domingo where, under one of the world's bloodiest dictatorships, workers in U. S.-owned cane fields get $20 a year); as close as coffee from Guatemala, where a plantation worker gets 40c a day.

Closer perhaps than coffee and sugar is the day-to-day resistance of Americans. It is resistance to the rule of U. S. companies, the same companies progressives have to fight for decent conditions in our own country.

The prisons are filled and the torture chambers busy in Peru (we recently raised the sugar quota there to bolster Dictator Odria) but last May students demonstrated in Lima. In June, 1950 the city of Alequippa rose against the dictator (who could not last a day without U.S. support). Hundreds were killed.

In Colombia a civil war rages unnoticed. Guerrillas fight in the hills. Three weeks ago there was a general strike in Uruguay. In Venezuela the government has been forced to tighten military control to keep the lid from blowing off. A great and significant revolution to emerge out of feudalism is under way in Guatemala—despite the heavy hand of United Fruit and the U. S. Embassy.

WALL ST. KNOWS: It would be wrong to depict all of Central and South America as a vast area of oppression ruled by gauleiters, on the verge of revolution. It is a complicated world of great possibilities for all Americans, North, South and Central. What happens in the elections of Argentina and Chile surely affects Washington. But the effects are noted in Wall [illegible] ignored elsewhere.

There is another great force in Latin America and Indian America (for many countries are more Indian than Latin) that ultimately must count in the assault on jimcrow. America, south of the U. S., is a continent of Indians, Negroes and whites and the resistance movement knows no segregation. The future of the Americas cannot be lily-white, and nowhere is that truth so abundantly demonstrated as in the America beyond our borders.

LABOR

ALP feeds hungry strikers 'after dark'

ALL through the 25-day-old dock strike the American Labor Party had collected cans of food for striking longshoremen. The press had featured stories of dock workers rejecting the food as "red-tainted."

Though many took food with thanks, it was true that the Chelsea ALP club was overstocked with the cans. But in the latter days of the strike and ever since, a stream of men have been coming to the ALP club—after dark. They show their ILA cards, take their food, thank the ALP, explain they dare not be seen during daylight for fear of the blacklist on the piers.

UNSETTLED ISSUES: Meanwhile an uneasy cease-fire hangs over east coast waterfronts. The strike had ended without a settlement.

State Industrial Commissioner Edward Corsi's fact-finding panel insisted it had to consider the situation "without tension." At 2 a.m. Oct. 10, John J. Sampson, business agent of Local 791, who had taken command of the strike, called it off, expressed confidence in the board. The men, their families getting hungry, gave in.

On Nov. 2 Sampson had called two of the board members "Ryan men"; two days later he said: "They couldn't have picked a better board."

On the proposal favored by Corsi, that a "permanent arbiter" be appointed to settle all waterfront grievances, the rank-and-filers' organ **Dockers News** last week said:

> We've got a king [president-for-life Joseph Ryan] we want to get rid of. What the devil do we want a czar for?

The end left these issues unsettled: the 25c raise, shape-up abuses, pension and welfare benefits, job insecurities. Some strikers called it a victory because they had discredited Joseph P. Ryan, president-for-life of the AFL Intl. Longshoremen's Assn. As the men trooped back to work at the week-end, came the first stories of hiring reprisals by lieutenants of Anthony Anastasia, brother of the former Murder, Inc., trigger man, who had led what the press called "loyal longshoremen."

EDUCATION

L. A. seeks voodoo-proof educators

THE Los Angeles Board of Education is responsible for the instruction of 350,000 children in some 400 schools running on a budget of $110,000,000. Until a month ago this set-up was headed by a woman who recently testified in court that since 1933 she has believed "fervently" that a little black box containing some wires, some dials and a meter is a sure-fire cure for all

The white man's burden travels on the backs of Indians. Throughout the U. S. empire in Latin America roads and rails are scarce, serve mainly to tie together the profit-making mines and plantations. In many places farmers travel 50 miles a day, their produce on their backs lashed by a rope that runs over the forehead. When an earthquake struck Ecuador recently, this is how UN relief supplies for the children were carried to mountain villages.

THERE IS A WALL: I talked with many leaders of resistance movements in the Americas, center and left. All agree that a point of contact for Americans is urgently needed; that first, U. S. progressives must consider the problem an urgent one; that ultimately three steps must be taken to unity:

- North Americans must learn about the Americas, must break out of the isolation they impose on themselves.
- Those south of the U. S. border must know far more clearly than they do what goes on among the North Americans.
- Out of that interchange of information and understanding must come the beginnings of solidarity among unions, peacemakers and progressives on every front.

ELMER BENDINER, a Guardian associate editor, recently returned from several months of reporting and study in Latin America. In articles appearing from time to time in these pages he will tackle the job of breaking down the wall of ignorance about our southern neighbors.

ills, ailments and diseases—even at a distance of 3,000 miles. Her husband, she said, is a "doctor of radio therapy" who frequently uses the box.

The weird testimony came from Mrs. Eleanor B. Allen in defense of her friend, Dr. Ruth B. Drown, who invented the gadget. Mrs. Allen swore she once escaped pneumonia because Dr. Drown had it tuned in on her from Los Angeles while she was in Atlantic City. Dr. Drown was convicted for peddling the thing inter-state, fined $1,000.

CLEAN THE HOUSE: On Oct. 16 Mrs. Allen resigned from the school board. Her strange medical beliefs weren't the only things afflicting the board. One member is under grand jury indictment on three felony counts for improper relations with a school contractor; three others are under charges of "wilful and corrupt misconduct." Latest charges are that Mrs. Allen, other board members and school officials made pleasure jaunts to Yosemite Valley for which a school contractor picked up the tabs.

Last week demands grew thunderous for the resignation of all board members except two elected earlier this year; the Independent Progressive Party was campaigning for appointment of a representative of at least one of Los Angeles' many minority groups.

Action, Paris

The doctors of the world prepare for an international conference.

THE WORLD

'Liberators' see red, French see redder

IN a recent interview with **Paris Match** Gen. Eisenhower complained bitterly about the "U.S. Go Home" signs chalked on walls all over Paris. The slogans now cover "occupied" France; here is one incident explaining why they multiply.

Roger Peinoit and Nadia Sadradze are a young French boy and girl living in the village of Belleville, near Verdun where nearly 1,000,000 French lives were sacrificed and a generation of French children orphaned in stopping the Germans 35 years ago. The region, heavy with solemn memories for France, is now part of the so-called "infrastructure" of the Atlantic Pact—the network of airbases and communication lines occupied by young Americans sent from Idaho, Iowa and Maine to "defend France from communism."

At 10 a.m. last Sept. 26 Roger and Nadia were putting up one of the posters now appearing throughout the "infrastructure," showing an octopus crushing France in its dollar-marked tentacles. Two American MP's drove by in a jeep, "saw Red" and drove the jeep right up against the wall.

Roger and Nadia dodged, ran down the street with the jeep in hot pursuit. The French police intervened, locked the young people up in jail on a charge of "insulting a policeman." Roger had yelled "Gestapo!" at the Americans.

That night 150 residents gathered for the largest protest meeting in Belleville's history. When someone in the audience shouted "Send the Americans back to America!" the crowd took up the slogan as a chant. Next day the townspeople were further enraged when Roger and Nadia, having been granted "provisional freedom," were led across the town square in handcuffs—a reminder of daily occurrences during the years of Nazi occupation, except that now the occupiers' uniforms are khaki instead of iron-green. A committee of aroused Belleville citizens of all political shadings was formed to defend Roger and Nadia.

PORCELAIN & POVERTY: People in the Verdun region have little to complain about in comparison with the residents of Chateauroux, central France, whose conversion at a cost of six billion francs into the "infrastructure's" no. 1 base began last May. The town and vicinity swarm with American MP jeeps; hundreds of acres of crops have been destroyed to build army installations and a complete American luxury town for which mountains of porcelain toilet bowls, radiators and indirect lighting systems are piled up in tents also housing French workers on the project. In one village the entire population has joined in a committee to insist on compensation for the ruined farmers.

In Chateauroux an endless procession of army trucks and Cadillacs roars to and from the station, some roads are closed to civilians; 4,000 Americans (soon to be 10,000) have moved into a town of 40,000 inhabitants. Scores of French workers have been fired from jobs related to the rundown French air base which the Americans took over. In the letters informing them of their dismissal the French official wrote:

> You are dismissed because you are communists or considered as such; you are unreliable elements, you might become saboteurs, the Americans cannot employ people like you.

Within a stone's throw of the palatial occupying forces' quarters, hundreds of French families are living in more and more miserable poverty as Washington's war plans complete the bankrupting of France's economy. Chateauroux is in one of the five areas where France's largest political party, the Communist Party, commands the active support of most of the people.

When French forces left the base now taken over by Americans, their colonel after hauling down the French flag had his men cut down the flagstaff rather than haul up the Stars and Stripes. He led the men, as they marched away, in the song "Nous Reviendrons" (We'll Be Back).

A letter from Japan

(Written on the eve of the San Francisco "peace treaty" conference to Elmer Benson, chairman of the Progressive Party.)

Yokohama-city, Japan

SINCE AUG. 15, the V-J Day, we have been reflecting repeatedly about the parts we have done in the World War the Second. Why did, or could we not hear any advices from those few persons who decidedly opposed the war at the risk of their lives?

From these reflections we became conscious and wise. Now we can define between democracy and fascism, peace policy and war policy. After all, we got a conclusion that the "peace" treaty of Japan which is said to be signed at San Francisco on September will surely bring a war on us. Any treaties or agreements except Soviet Union, Peoples Republic of China and Asian Countries will neither safeguard Japan, nor give a full sovereignty to Japan, we believe.

•

WE hope and demand that the pact between Five Big Powers, USA, USSR, Peoples Republic of China, Great Britain and France, will be concluded, because it is the only way to bring lasting peace which mankind dreamed for so long time. At the same time, we decidedly oppose against the separate peace treaty of Japan, which make Japan a foot-step toward USSR and Chinese Republic via Korea, and which make Japanese a cannon fodder, and at the same time which rebuild a militarist, aggressive Japan.

•

LET we hand with friendship with American peace loving people, and do a joint action for peace. WAR IS NOT INEVITABLE. Peace will surely be defended by mass movement of world peace loving people, especially by a joint action of both American and Japanese people. We regret that we have been too idle towards you, treating you as if you were warlike people. The Pacific Ocean must not be a place of war again.

Please support our demands and hope. Cordially join with us to let the ceasefire negotiation at Korean Front be successful.

Believing that American people do not like war, too.

Kameda Togo
Chairman of the Chemical Industrial Workers of Japan. A Standing Member of Japan Peace Committee.

PEACE

American Continental Peace Congress set

AMERICANS, from Canada to Argentina, joined last week in a call to a Continental Peace Congress scheduled for Dec. 10-15. The site has not been fixed but it is certain to be in Latin America. Call signers included high government officials: Benjamin Cevallos Aizaga, pres. of Ecuador's Supreme Court (with two other Ecuadorean Supreme Court justices); Roberto Alvarado Fuentes, pres. of the Congress of Guatemala; Dr. Alberto Navarro, mayor of the city of Panama; Salvador Allende, vice-pres. of Chile's Senate.

Other eminent signers were:

Dr. Enrique Perez Arbelaez, Catholic priest and member of Colombia's Academy of Sciences; Chilean poet Gabriela Mistral, Nobel literature prize winner; in Brazil, world-famous architect Oscar Niemeyer and painter Candido Portinari; in Cuba, Domingo Villamil, professor of theology and director of the Catholic daily Justicia, and Gen. Carlos Garcia Velez, former Ambassador to the U.S.; in Mexico, ex-Navy Minister and Stalin peace prize winner Gen. Heriberto Jara, artist David Alfaro Siqueiros, and Vicente Lombardo Toledano, pres. of the Confedn. of Latin American Workers.

In the U.S.: Dr. Joseph Fletcher, professor at the Episcopal Theological Seminary, Cambridge, Mass.; Ernest de Maio, vice-pres. of UE; Rev. Paul Caton, pres. of the World Fellowship Committee of Illinois; Rev. Kenneth Forbes, pres. of the Episcopal League for Social Action of Philadelphia; Methodist Rev. Willard Uphaus of the American Peace Crusade; Rockwell Kent, Howard Fast and Paul Robeson.

The signers, who number more than 100, declare in their call:

At this conference the peoples of the Americas must seek their own ways of contributing to the cessation of existing wars and of obtaining guarantees of the peaceful settlement of international problems in order to safeguard the independence of our countries, develop the well-being of peoples and preserve our cultural traditions.

We call on all those who sincerely desire peace to participate in this conference, irrespective of their political opinions, religious beliefs, or their ideas as to the origin of the existing crisis. Our call is to . . . all men and women of good will on the American continent.

Hudson N. J. Dispatch
Heartbreak, U. S. A.

World action for peace

- The World Peace Council wound up a five-day meeting in Vienna, Austria, with delegates from all over the world despite the usual Western attempts to interfere with their travel. Italian Socialist Pietro Nenni urged sending of a delegation to the UN Assembly in Paris to press for a 5-power peace pact, petitions for which have been signed by over 600,000,000 people. Council Pres. Frederic Joliot-Curie, French atomic scientist, welcomed delegates from "Iran, Egypt and other countries where people are engaged in actions helping the cause of peace."
- Protests from parents, teachers and psychologists brought N.Y. Schools Supt. Jansen to declare "optional" the wearing by children of heat-resistant atomic "dog tags" now being issued.
- The American Youth Peace Crusade launched a campaign for 250,000 signatures to a "Friendship Book" in which young people call for negotiations for peace.
- Over 100 top British authors held a week-end peace action conference stemming out of the Authors World Peace Appeal, which was signed by Protestant, Catholic, left- and right-wing writers including Christopher Fry, Marjorie Bowen, A. E. Coppard, Sean O'Casey, Compton Mackenzie, Siegfried Sassoon, Sheila Kaye-Smith, Naomi Mitchison. The conference formed a permanent committee of 28 members, set up five working panels. It heard reports of the organization of similar groups in Australia and New Zealand.
- A letter signed by 417 prominent Americans in 43 states and D. C., mostly clergymen (including three theological school heads), went to President Truman expressing grave concern over the Korean truce "deterioration" and whether "our government is doing its utmost to reach a settlement," calling for "a supreme effort" for "full restoration of peace."
- To the State Dept. went an appeal for "abandoning . . . war as a means of attempting to settle international differences" signed by a group of 40 national leaders headed by Dr. Anton J. Carlson, Distinguished Service Professor Emeritus of Physiology at the University of Chicago. The statement said:

War is one of the most stupid activities of an enlightened humanity. It puts us on the level of the snake, the hyena, and the tiger.

The State Dept. was asked to forward the appeal to U.S., U.S.S.R., British, French, Chinese, Indian heads of governments urging them "to meet and in the name of humanity initiate negotiations for lasting agreement to settle differences that threaten to plunge the world into atomic war."

- The Illinois Assembly of the American Peace Crusade launched a petition campaign urging Congressmen to halt the war, talk truce "in good faith," open peace negotiations among the big powers. APC's national committee met in Chicago Nov. 17-18 to plan a national campaign for a 5-power peace pact.
- In Canada, the British Columbia (popn. 1,500,000) Peace Council announced it had collected 87,000 signatures to the 5-power peace pact appeal.
- In Syria the Partisans of Peace, headed by Maaruf Dawalibi, speaker of the Syrian Chamber of Deputies, and the Greek Orthodox Patriarch of Antioch, proposed a regional peace convention with delegates from all the Middle East and North Africa.
- In Chicago, a group of oldsters called for formation of a national organization to be known as Senior Citizens for Peace, set up offices at 166 W. Washington St.

THE PRESS

'Collier's' nightmare horrifies Europe

WHEN Collier's produced its "World War II preview" issue last month, the GUARDIAN (Oct. 24) anticipated that "world-wide disgust and horror" at the U.S. mentality it represented would further hasten disintegration of the "Free World" alliance. First comments in Western Europe range from French ridicule and alarm to British melancholy. At the Chaillot Palace in Paris, where diplomats and newsmen of the world are gathered for the UN As-

(Continued on following page)

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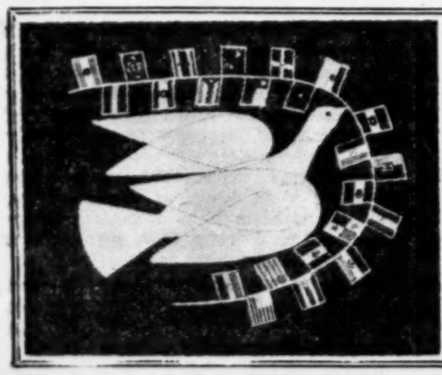

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(Continued from preceding page)

sembly, **Collier's** was promimently displayed on the newsstand. Notably absent from it were issues of the **Nation, New Republic** and **New Statesman & Nation** containing acid Anglo-Saxon comment.

The French liberal weekly **L'Observateur** took off by translating **Collier's** cover picture, which showed a GI standing with drawn bayonet against a map of occupied Russia with a UN flag flying over Moscow "Occupation Headquarters." **L'Observateur** drew a Russian soldier looking as starry-eyed and noble as **Collier's** GI, poising his bayonet before a map of occupied U.S.A. Under the title: "A psychoanalysis of **Collier's** — 23 Americans dream out loud," the weekly quoted freely from **Collier's**, assuring its readers in boldface type that the quotations were precise, that **Collier's** is one of America's top magazines, that the 23 American contributors are respected writers, not "madmen or practical jokers."

THE WIDENING GULF: L'Observateur concluded:

> In telling us their dreams the 23 Americans . . . have at last rendered a great service to the people of the continent. Those who had forgotten that a gulf separates American thinking from European thinking suddenly perceive that the gulf has grown larger in recent years. Those who saw only the strength of the U.S. discover its weakness.
>
> And those who have the greatest confidence in the American will to peace are seized with the irresistible urge to cry out to those sleepwalkers that it is high time to wake up and give up their terrible dreams.

Concerning the final victory achieved by **Collier's** through dropping GI's in the Urals to destroy Russia's atomic arsenal, a French General staff officer commented drily in the conservative **France Dimanche**: "**Collier's** seems to forget that there are Soviet soldiers in the Urals." The French press noted uniformly that destruction of France in such a war is hinted but never admitted, that the Russian dead are counted but not those of other nations.

IT'S LATER: Less pungently, more sadly, Kingsley Martin in the British **New Statesman & Nation** commented: "The effect of this fairy story in Russia must be to confirm the view that America intends to make war." Then, speaking of the madness of fighting communism with bombs, Martin wrote:

> . . . In our more thoughtful moments we do not need to be told, as H. G. Wells once put it, that "you cannot shoot the square root of minus one." But this issue of Collier's is not devised to be soberly considered by people in a thoughtful mood.

The influential daily **Ottawa Citizen** said editorially:

> It will deepen misgivings elsewhere about American instability and emotionalism. . . . Not content with mass slaughterings they dream up atrocities. The sickening effect of these narrations is aggravated by self-righteous and sanctimonious attitudes.

Joining the world-wide protest were: **Nouvelle Revue** of Lausanne, conservative, semi-official organ of the Swiss government; right-wing socialist **Thurgauer Arbeiter Zeitung** of western Germany; Catholic **La Croix** of Paris; **El Popular** of Mexico City.

At home many newspapers and more letter-writers condemned the issue. Prof. D. F. Fleming in the **Nation** wondered

> . . . how each author came to take part in the enterprise, and whether any of them really understood what the impact of the whole would be. If many of them did, then it is much later than we thought.

'Magyar Jovo' at half century

IN New York **Magyar Jovo**, Hungarian Daily Journal, marked its 50th birthday this month. Labor has praised **Magyar Jovo** since Big Bill Haywood's day. Tom Mooney paid tribute. So, recently, did W. R. Hood, secy.-treas. of UAW Ford Local 600, who said:

> "Since the time of Bill Haywood and McNamara, it has been the only Hungarian paper in the U. S. that has always stood up and staunchly defended all those persecuted for their political conviction, race or religion. Alone among all Hungarian newspapers it fought for the Scottsboro Boys, the Martinsville Seven, the Trenton Six."

Among its editors were John Lekai, jailed for anti-war editorials during World War 1; Louis Bebrics, deported in 1932, now Hungary's Transport Minister; John Gyetvai, deported 1947, later Hungarian minister to Turkey; John Santo, transport workers' leader, who left the U. S. in 1950. Present editor is Zoltan Deak.

Magyar Jovo's circulation is 7,000—exactly the number of peace signatures gathered by Hungarian Americans.

PROGRESSIVE PARTY

PP going places, elections show

LATE election returns from widely scattered parts of the country bore out earlier indications that the Progressive Party was gaining everywhere.

In San Francisco George Walsh, longshoreman and Independent Progressive Party candidate for the board of supervisors, polled 11% of the total vote, ran 13th in a list of 25 with 29,403 votes.

Walsh's vote was heaviest in working-class areas. In the 39th precinct of the 23rd assembly district, for example, he polled 131 out of 153 votes. Many others gave IPP 25% to 50% of the vote.

Communist Party leader Oleta O'Connor Yates, one of the Smith Act victims, who ran her campaign from her jail cell, polled 15,932.

UP IN N.J.: In Essex County, New Jersey, the PP gained slightly, polling a little over 2% of the vote. The state hit a near-record low in registration and then yielded to a Republican Party sweep. The tally:

> For state senator, Ruth Lerner, 3,637; for the Legislature, Christine Bell, 3,514; Jesse Scott Campbell, 3,583; Catherine Hoffman, 3,406; Fannie Tushnet, 3,208; Virginia Travis, 3,216; Anita Vogoda, 3,434; Edna W. Flavelle, 3,295.

All three labor candidates backed by the PP ran on the Democratic ticket and lost. Of the Negro candidates supported by the PP, Republican Edgar Bowser won, Democrat Monte Irvin lost.

Press officially confirms Eastern PP leaders' meeting

THREE years ago the founding of the Progressive Party at Philadelphia was news. Since then the press has almost blacked it out. But last week the big papers had another Philadelphia story and suddenly treated the PP as news once again.

Encouraged by the election's indications of rising independent strength, the PP last week-end held a Middle-Atlantic States Regional Conference. Plans for 1952 may leave the PP anti-war ticket the only national opposition in the country.

National Secy. C. B. Baldwin called for a Presidential ticket against the "iron triangle—Truman, Taft-Eisenhower."

Tom Fitzpatrick, electrical worker and PP leader in Pennsylvania, pointed to one problem: to convince workers that peace will not mean a depression.

While planning for next year, the 300 delegates from New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland and D.C. outlined this year's business:

- An immediate petition campaign for a meeting of the Big Five.
- Immediate cease-fire in Korea.
- A special commission supplanting the FBI to investigate the Groveland shooting.
- Dismissal of the case against Dr. W. E. B. DuBois.

PP midwesterners to meet

PP representatives from 13 states will meet in a midwest regional conference Nov. 24-25 at Chicago's Midland Hotel. Delegates will come from Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, the Dakotas, Ohio, Oklahoma and Wisconsin.

The conference will assess election results, ballot status, PP work in rural areas and among Negro people, then plan for the national elections of 1952.

A five-state mid-Atlantic conference met in Philadelphia last week-end.

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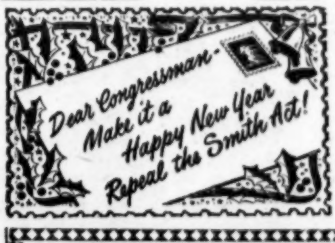


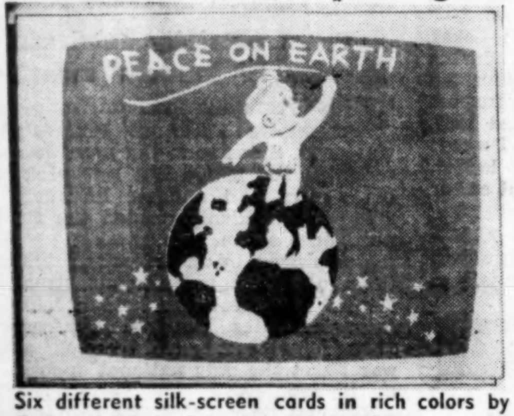
Your Holiday Mail Can Pack a Punch
Sheet of 42 gummed stamps, actual size above, $1. Ten sheets, $7.50. Benefit Smith Act victims. Order now through GUARDIAN BUYING SERVICE.

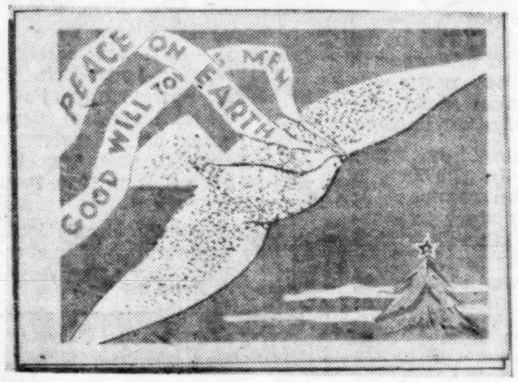
Friday December 7
Guardian Theater Preview
• Katherine Cornell
• Brian Aherne
• Grace George
in
Somerset Maugham's "The Constant Wife"
directed by Guthrie McClintic
NATIONAL THEATER, W. 41 St. 8:40 P.M.
Orch. $10 ( ) Mezz. $9 ( ) $8 ( ) Balc. $6 ( ) $5 ( )
Indicate number of tickets in each category. Enclosed $........
Name ....
Address ....
NATIONAL GUARDIAN 17 Murray St., N. Y. C. 7 WO 4-1750

It takes two to speak the truth —one to speak, and another to hear.—THOREAU
Exercise Your Right to Listen!
What is the Smith Act? Who are its victims? What is THEIR side of the story? Break through the curtain of the press, radio, film and television — defend the rich American heritage of truth, justice and fair play by finding out the real answers.
CONTACT—
SPEAKERS' BUREAU—Voices Against The Smith Act
speakers include Smith Act defendants, available for forum, debate, informal talks
call—miss dorothy gottlieb GRamercy 5-6555
write—Rm. 545, 799 B'way, NYC

NEW YORK
"ART TO LIVE WITH"
at $50 TOPS!
By Becker, Brockdorff, Citron, Colton, Dakin, Gurr, Gwathmey, Hecht, Ipcar, Jules, Livia, Nova, Pine, Werner, M. Zorach, others.
1951 Pre-Xmas Sale
NEW-AGE GALLERY, Inc.
138 W. 15th St. N. Y. C.
11-5 Daily Except Sunday

HURRY, HURRY, HURRY
Order your greetings cards NOW!





Six different silk-screen cards in rich colors by William Gropper (sample design left) and Hugo Gellert (right). Postpaid with envelopes. **6 for $1**

ETCHTONE. Large, old-fashioned cards with lovely etchings, winter scenes, Yule themes. Each with a warm message and a seasonal thought by great writers of the past. 20 for $1.

IMPERIAL LUSTRE. Richly colorful, tasteful; intriguing pop-up, 3-dimensional designs. All different. Tops for mantle displays. Worth 15-25c each ....16 for $1

...And on earth peace, good will toward men.

Luke II, 14

Muralist Anton Refregier has made his personal holiday woodcut design (above) available exclusively to the GUARDIAN for this season. The 11"x6" card folds attractively, with "Seasons Greetings" and the above message visible on the folded card. In three colors, with envelopes .... **10 for $1**

SPECIAL CLUB RATES: With Envelopes, postpaid . . . 100 for $5.50

Black Flame Heel NYLONS

"EXQUISETTE"

51 Gauge, 15 Denier.

Full Fashioned.

Dainty stitching outlines the black heel for a feminine, fascinating effect. Gossamer sheer—clear and streak free. A gift for the woman who loves fine nylons **$1.35**

Also available:

51 gauge, 15 denier **$1**

Extra long; black seam and business sheer **$1.25**

Sold in boxes of three pairs only, postpaid. Specify taupe or tan.

Perfection Edge Kanco Blades

Gift-wrapped box of 60 double-edge blades. Postpaid **$1**

Year's supply (130 blades), gift-wrapped. Postpaid **$2**

•

BARGAIN BUNDLE for the men in your life, six gift-wrapped packages of either size for the price of five. Delivery postpaid in plenty of time for Xmas stockings, office gifts. Specify heavy or thin.

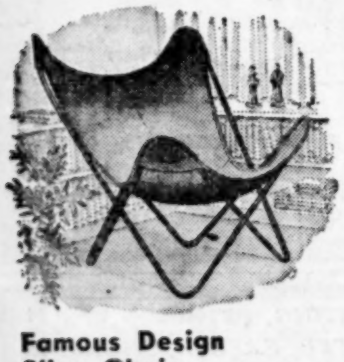
FINE IMPORTED LINENS
— immediate delivery, postpaid

		Size	Reg. Price	Our Price
	FROM THE SOVIET UNION:			
1.	White with colored border*	54x54	$5.00	$4.00
2.	White with colored border*	56x68	6.00	5.00
3.	White with colored border*	54x82	7.00	6.00
6.	White on white	56x68	6.75	5.00
	*Floral borders in lovely shades of blue, orchid, peach, pink. (In specifying colored border, give 1st, 2nd, 3rd choice)			
	FLORAL COLORS			
7.	Peach, red or blue	56x56	6.00	5.00
8.	Gold, blue, green or brown	56x68	7.50	6.00
9.	Green, gold or blue	54x83	11.00	8.00
10.	Peach, pink or purple	69x83	14.00	9.00
11.	Peach only (very limited supply)	72x72	12.00	8.00
	WHITE WITH BLUE BORDER			
a.	Closely woven pure linen from select combed flax with white on white floral and floral blue border with 4 napkins	60x60	7.50	5.75
	Additional napkins			.50 ea.
b.	Same as (a) with 6 napkins	60x83	14.00	9.75
12.	White damask floral design with 6 large napkins—limited quantity	69x83	19.00	16.00
13.	Same as No. 12, with 12 napkins	69x100	29.50	22.50
15.	Kitchen towels, colored border	18x34	$7.50 per doz.	
	FROM CZECHOSLOVAKIA:			
	Pure linen peasantcraft cloths, open work, in white, light cream, light blue, gold, green or rose. Specify 1st, 2nd, 3rd choice.			
17.	with 4 napkins	36x36	$4.00	$3.50
18.	with 6 napkins	52x70	9.00	7.00
19.	with 8 napkins	58x78	14.00	13.00
20.	with 8 napkins	64x84	17.00	14.00
21.	with 8 napkins	60x90	17.00	15.00
22.	with 12 napkins	64x104	20.00	18.00
	WHITE DAMASK FLORAL DESIGN HEMSTITCHED:			
23.	with 6 napkins	52x70	13.00	10.00
24.	with 8 napkins	60x90	18.00	15.00
26.	with 12 napkins	70x108	35.00	20.00
27.	with 12 napkins	70x126	47.50	37.50
	PASTEL IN PINK, BLUE, GREY, GOLD:			
28.	with 8 napkins	60x80	24.00	16.50
	FROM POLAND:			
29.	Pure linen peasantcraft, floral colors on white	54x54	9.50	6.00
30.	Same as No. 29	52x70	10.00	7.50
31.	Pure white damask floral design, 8 napkins	64x84	15.00	12.75

Lovely handcrafted cottons from New China

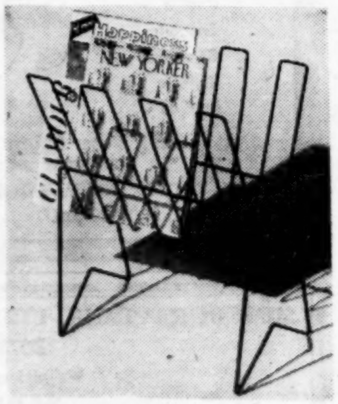
		Size	Reg. Price	Our Price
35.	Mosaic, open work, hand embroidered bridge sets, striking colors on white. 4 napkins—very limited quantity	36x36	$5.00	$4.00
36.	Hand applique on white, 4 napkins	36x36	5.00	4.00
37.	Luncheon size, same as No. 36, 6 napkins	45x45	8.50	6.50
38.	Hand applique on white, 6 napkins	45x45	8.50	6.50
41.	Madeira open work display dinner cloth, exquisitely designed, hand embroidered, scalloped edges, 12 napkins, white, ecru	72x108	32.00	23.75
42.	Same as No. 41. 8 napkins	64x86	25.00	20.00
43.	Lace display cloths, exquisite design, hand crocheted, ecru. Also suitable for bedspread	72x108	40.00	25.00
44.	Same as No. 42	60x90	27.00	20.00
45.	Three scarves to match No. 43 or No. 44		14.00	11.00

Please order by number.



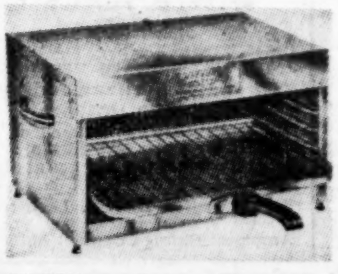
Famous Design Sling Chair

For use indoors or out. Heavy-duty black wrought iron frame. Removable canvas sling seat; specify black, yellow, medium green, tangerine. Delivery 3-4 weeks, shipping charges collect **$13.95**



Steel Rod Magazine Rack

Modern, functional living room catch-all: 20" high, 14½" deep, 10½" wide. Shipping charges collect **$7**

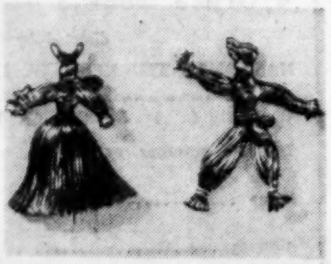


"Hickory" Broiler

Hi-speed, family-size oven-broiler, 17" wide, 12" deep, 9" high. Steaks, chops charcoal-broiled in 7 minutes. Cooks a whole chicken. Heavy gauge, triple chrome, hinged tray handle; three control AC-DC. Sold on television for $29.95. Our price, postpaid...**$19.95**

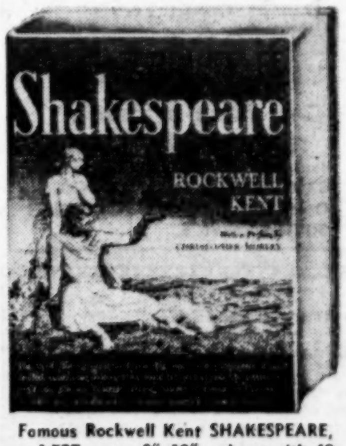
Handcrafted Copper Jewelry

Beautifully finished heavy copper Swan Pin with safety-catch. Matching drop earrings, same price **$2.75**



Popular "Moppet" pin pair, beautifully handcrafted **$2.50**

The kind of news you get in Guardian is priceless. Help our sub drive!



Famous Rockwell Kent SHAKESPEARE, a 1,527-page, 8"x10" volume with 40 incomparable Rockwell Kent illustrations. The text is the Cambridge Edition with the Temple Notes, and a preface by Christopher Morley. The very finest of gifts, postpaid, for only **$3.95**

IDEAL GIFT

SENSATIONAL

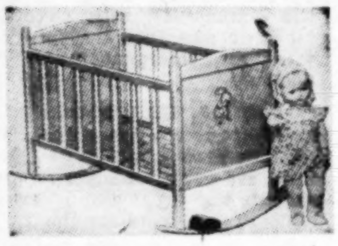
Pres·a·lite

Hands you lighted cigarette while you drive. Specify walnut, maroon, forest green bakelite. Postpaid **$6.95**

GUARDIAN HOLIDAY BAZAAR

Life-size, 22-inch 'New-Born' Doll

Entire body latex rubber washable Magic Skin. Head soft moulded Vinyl. Cries, coos. Pin-up diaper, Rosebud flannel kimona, lovely soft baby blanket, magic milk bottle **$4.95**



Doll Cribs

Solid Northern hardwood finished in Waxed Birch with nursery decals; 27½" long, 21½" high, 15½" wide; removable spring. Usually $10.50 up. Guardian price, postpaid **$7.50**

Above with cradle rockers, self-winding Swiss music box, usually $13.95. Our price $9.98 postpaid.

Doll Stroller

Thayer Station Wagon model. Hardwood veener sides, reclining back, adjustable footwell, 4-bow plaid hood. All steel alumium-finished chassis; 8-spoke 8" wheels, plated hub caps, ⅝" tires. Pusher 26½" from floor. Usually $12.95. Our price, postpaid... **$9.95**

Thayer Doll Carriages

Available at $5.50, $12.50, $16.95, $22.95. Regularly priced from $7.95 to $29.95.

Sailor Boy Peg Boat

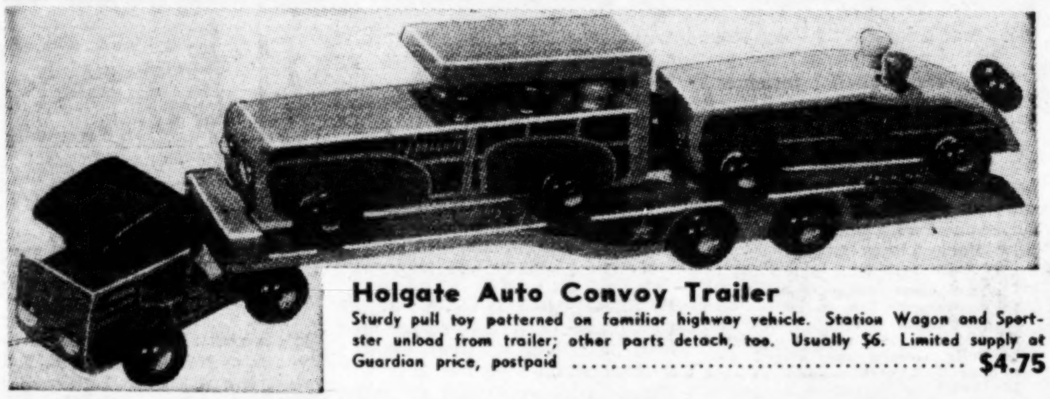
For ages 18 mos. to 3 years. Four jolly tars whose caps (and heads) come off. Original price $2.25.. Immediate delivery **$1.80**

Dainty Holiday Gift Handkerchiefs

All different colors, hand-embroidered, packed in three's in charming gift boxes .... **Six for $1**

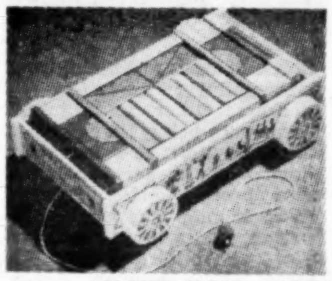
White, lace corners; slender, colorful spray embroidery. Gift-packed three to a box.. **Six for $1.50**

Immediate delivery, postpaid.



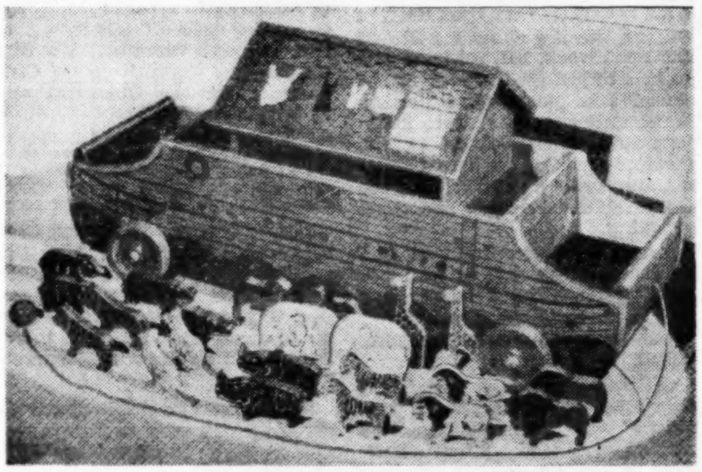
Holgate Auto Convoy Trailer

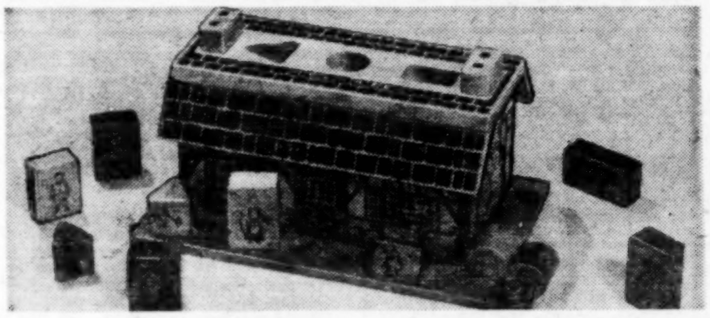
Sturdy pull toy patterned on familiar highway vehicle. Station Wagon and Sportster unload from trailer; other parts detach, too. Usually $6. Limited supply at Guardian price, postpaid **$4.75**



(above) COLORED BLOCK WAGON. Contains 42 blocks, red, yellow, blue; waxed in sturdy pull-wagon. Regularly $5. Our price, postpaid **$4**

BABY PUSH. For 1½ to 3 year olds. take-apart and put-together feature makes it many toys in one. Regularly $2.50. Our price, postpaid **$2**



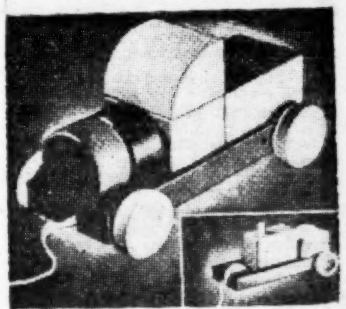


NOAH'S ARK (top). For all ages but especially children. Eleven pairs of animals not counting Old Man Noah. Sturdy, 20" long. Regularly $15. Our price **$12**

THE HOUSE THAT JACK BUILT. For ages 1½ to 5. Blocks go through form-fit holes in roof, which lifts to retrieve them. Regularly $4. Our price **$3.20**

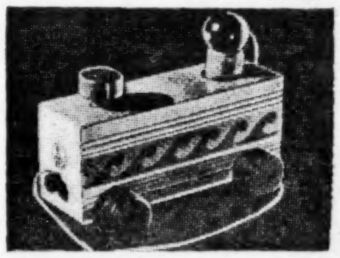
Child's Rocker

Upholstered in long-lasting, easy to clean Bolta-Flex plastic in red or blue. "No-Sag" springs. Birch and maple. Usually $15, our price **$11.25**



"Mak-a-Toy"

Four-in-one; converts into truck, armored car tractor, cab-on-engine truck or any in-between vehicle your 2-4 cares to create. All wood in bright non-toxic colors. Original price $2.50. Immediate delivery, postpaid **$1.65**



"Nok-a-Blok"

Means just what it says — tot socks button, knocks off figure in driver's seat. Said to develop muscles from 18 mos. to 4 years. Sure to develop high glee all ages. Original price $3. Immediate delivery, postpaid **$1.95**

Holgate Circus Train

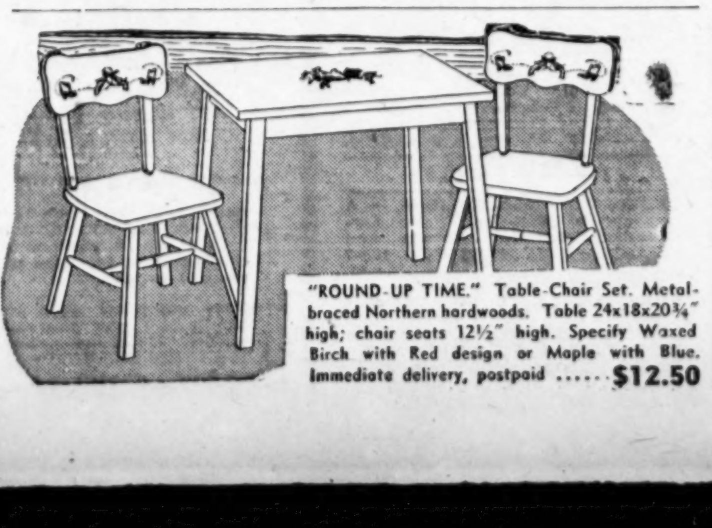
For ages 1½-5. Original price $10. Immediate delivery, postpaid...... **$8**

← "Rudolph" Rocker

"Rudolph the Red-Nosed Reindeer" pictured in red and brown and played by self-winding Swiss music box. Waxed birch finish on Northern hardwood. Seat 13" wide, 10⅞" deep; back 11⅝" high; overall height 21⅜". Original price $11.95. Immediate delivery, postpaid **$8.95**

"Blox-Cars" →

Three-car, take-apart pull toy. Cars can be pulled together, separately, pyramided or any way your 1-5 figures out. Non-toxic, toothproof paint job. Original price $3.25. Immediate delivery, postpaid **$2.15**



"ROUND-UP TIME." Table-Chair Set. Metal-braced Northern hardwoods. Table 24x18x20¾" high; chair seats 12½" high. Specify Waxed Birch with Red design or Maple with Blue. Immediate delivery, postpaid **$12.50**

GUARDIAN BUYING SERVICE ORDER BLANK

Quantity	Item	Size, Color, Description	Amount

TOTAL

(N. Y. C. buyers add 3% sales tax) (On jewelry, add 20% federal tax)

Full payment must accompany all orders. Make checks, money orders payable to GUARDIAN BUYING SERVICE. All shipping charges collect unless otherwise stated.

Name ....

Address ....

NEW YORK'S 'ATOMIC PREVIEW'

Next week: crawling week

NEW York's dress rehearsal for a holocaust—with more than 1,000,000 life-like casualties—had a curtain raiser last week.

At supper-time on Wednesday the sirens wailed. According to the script three make-believe bombs were dropped on widely scattered parts of the city. Only civilian defense workers were on stage. The public were alerted for a "surprise" bombing some morning next week in which they were to join the "exercises."

Two abandoned tenement buildings were set on fire. A water hose was played from a manhole to simulate a broken water main. Doctors were on hand with geiger counters as well as ambulances. The performance had a good press. The New York **Times** said:

> **One observer who had been in London during the German air blitz termed the scene "quite realistic" as smoke from the flares and smokepots settled gloomily toward the street and bandaged figures leaned against the buildings or sat in doorways.**

CRAWLING "REQUIRED": During the big show scheduled for next week, all vehicles are to be stopped on the city's outskirts. Bus passengers are to crawl under seats or into shelters. Auxiliaries—fire, police, medical—are to go into action making believe that a million or more New Yorkers are dead or dying.

Everyone is supposed to flee to the nearest shelter but, officials warn, if the siren catches you in a restaurant you must pause long enough to pay your check.

Officials publicly declared that all New Yorkers were "required" to participate, but seemed hesitant when they were asked by telephone just what penalties, imposed under what law, would be incurred by those who did not.

A reporter telephoned several times, was told to wait while officials looked up regulations. Finally a spokesman said:

> **"No, there will be no penalties for those who do not cooperate in next week's drill, but in the event that a real atomic bomb does drop there will be penalties for those who do not cooperate."**

KEEP BARREL HANDY: While New Yorkers were to be jammed into basement shelters, experts disagreed on whether this was the correct approach to living or to dying in a real raid. Wrote Otto Eisenschiml, chairman of the Chicago Chemical Warfare Consulting Committee on Civil Defense, in the **Chemical and Engineering News:**

> **I would stay where I happened to be at the time rather than go below street level where I might get buried under 20 or more stories of cement and steel.**

Another suggestion from Chicago civil defense authorities was to jump at the first alarm into a barrel with neither top nor bottom to it, so that you could then walk under a table. In New York, few had barrels handy.

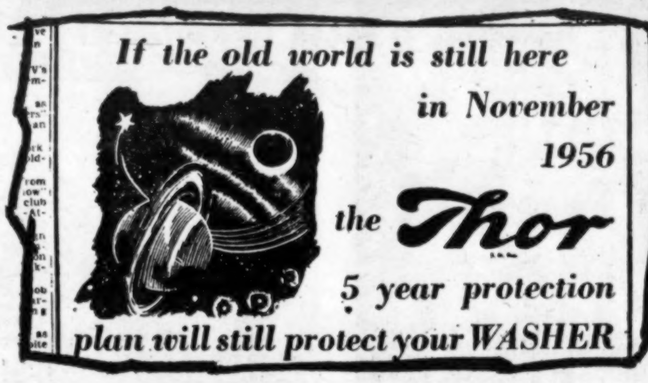
The maneuvers, unprecedented anywhere in the world, along with the dog-tags-for-children and air-raid instruction billboards on the highways, brought war home to New Yorkers. Other grim innovations were being brought home too. New York now has armed auxiliaries in jack-boots and sam browne belts. Some of these in radio cars patrol reservoir areas. Others walk city beats in uniforms resembling those of policemen. Though strictly "volunteers," they have been issued ammunition belts and policemen's notebooks. Some carry pistols and blackjacks. Eventually all police auxiliaries will carry weapons, Civil Defense officials say.

At their head is an "auxiliary chief" and a "commandant." The apparatus is empowered by law to step in and control the community with virtually all civil guarantees suspended when an "emergency" may be declared.

POLITICAL DAMFOOLERY: Recruiting for volunteers for all civil defense work is way behind set goals, officials report, though the press and political clubs daily appeal for them.

N.Y. **Daily Compass** reporter John Roddy, covering last week's "attack," quoted his taxi driver:

> **"I'm a warden because my political leaders told me I had to be but I'm not going to get into any damfoolishness like this."**



DON'T WORRY—PUT IT IN A BARREL

It's a risky business guaranteeing merchandise for the next five years, as this ad in the N. Y. Daily Compass last week shows. Not that the wash machine will wear out—it just may not be there; but then neither will the owner nor the manufacturer, so who's gonna complain?

Argument with awful child

"Ma! Why must we crawl under seats or jump into barrels?"

"Because the Russians might drop an atom bomb on us."

"Did the Russians say they were going to drop an atom bomb on us if we didn't get into our barrels?"

"Of course not, dear. The Russians are communists and communists always say the opposite of what they mean. They say they want peace which means they want war."

"Who says the Russians are communists?"

"The Russians, of course, dear."

"Then they're really not communists, Ma, and if they're not communists then they won't drop bombs on us even if we don't get into a barrel . . . and then maybe they're not even Russians, and . . ."

"SHUT UP, DEAR, AND GET IN THAT BARREL!"

CALENDAR

New York

HEAR REV. CLAUDE WILLIAMS (of Helena, Ala.) in an informal session on perspectives for a broad people's movement in the South. Home of Robt. Gwathmey, 1 W. 68 St., Fri., Nov. 30, 8:30 p.m. Don.: $1.

Chicago

SAT., DEC. 1 — BALKAN NITES CABARET Bakalor dinner, Folk dancing, Music. Workman's Hall, 3037 W. 51st St. Auspices: Southwest Chapter Progressive Party.

FILM FORUM OF CHICAGO presents movies every Friday, 8:15 p.m., at People's Auditorium, 2457 W. Chicago. Adm: 60c. Features for Nov. 30: **THE GREAT GLINKA** and **PAGEANT OF RUSSIA (U. S. S. R.)**

RUTH AND BILL MILLER cordially invite you to share their open house for delegates to the Midwestern Conference of the Progressive Party, 4706 S. Drexel, Sat., Nov. 24, 9 p.m. Entertainment, Refreshments. Donation: $1. Auspices: Illinois P. P.

RALLY — U. S. A.-U. S. S. R. CO-OPERATION FOR WORLD PEACE. Celebrating 34 years of founding of the U. S. S. R., 18 years of recognition of the U.S.S.R. by U. S. A. Thurs., Nov. 29, 8 p.m. Chopin Center, 1547 N. Leavitt. Featuring: Rev. Wm. Howard Melish, Rev. Richard Morford. Entertainment, Exhibit. Adm: 60c. Sponsored by: Chicago Council ASP, Rm. 50, 68 W. Wash.

Detroit

World Events Forum presents **DR. ANNA LOUISE STRONG**, noted author, correspondent, lecturer, speaking on "Who Will Win the World?", Friday, Nov. 23, 8 p.m. Hartford Av. (3 blocks south of Tireman, near W. Grand Blvd.) Admission: Free.

Los Angeles

DANCE TO HELP CRACK JIM CROW AT DOWNTOWN DEPARTMENT STORES. Featuring Sonny Reed and his Unity Band, Entertainment, Beer on tap, Refreshments. Donation: 75c. Sat Nite, Dec. 1, CIO Hall, 5851 Avalon Blvd. Sponsor: L. A. County Ind. Prog. Party FEP Committee.

Have Fun and Fight the Smith Act! **BARN DANCE—*BOX SUPPER SOCIAL.** Sat., Dec. 1, 8:30 p.m. at 5901 Cahuenga, N. Hollywood. Live band, home talent skit, all kinds of prizes, etc. *Bring 1 "Box Supper" per couple. **INDEPENDENT PROGRESSIVE PARTY**, STanley 7-1725.

TODAY'S NEWS ANALYZED with discussion in Town Meeting tradition. **MARTIN HALL** every Monday night at ASP Council, 7410 Sunset, 8 p.m. GR 4188. Donation: 60c.

CLASSIFIED

Listings in this section are available at 40c a line (five words): minimum charge $2 per insertion. Copy deadline Friday before publication. Please send payment with copy. Address: Classified, National Guardian, 17 Murray St., New York 7, N. Y.

General

MODERN SWEDISH STAINLESS STEEL FLATWARE. Designed by **AKERLIND.** 6 pc. place setting REG. $5.95. SPEC. $4.52. Standard Brand Dist., 143 4th Av., N. Y. C. (13th & 14th Sts.) GR 3-7819.

GREEN MOUNTAIN CAPS, for women, children. "Dutch" style. Chic for skiers, gifts. Hand woven to order, short notice, suggest colors. Water repellent. Cotton $3, nylon $3.50, postpaid. **WEAVART,** Randolph, Vermont.

NYLONS MENDED. 25c each. Expert workmanship. Send cash. Returned postpaid anywhere. **RUSTIC MENDERS,** 544 Main St., Worcester 8, Mass.

PERSONAL PHOTO CHRISTMAS CARDS with envelopes 10 for 98c. Sample card 10c made from snapshot negative. If no negative add 35c. 50 cards $3.50. Pal Film Service, P. O. Box G 123, New York 59.

How's Your Ticker?

Ten-day watch repair by mail; all work and materials (except mainsprings) guaranteed for one year.

$3 job includes replacement of broken staff, stem and crown or mainspring.

$5, cleaning, one-part replacement, electronic re-timing, new crystal if desired.

$7, full overhaul, all broken parts replaced, adjustment, re-timing, new crystal.

Dial refinishing, $2.50. Case repairs at cost. Estimate submitted before undertaking job if desired. Mail your ailing watch to GUARDIAN BUYING SERVICE.

IRISH TWEEDS: colorful, sturdy, by yard or tailored. **BLANKETS & SHAWLS:** many weights, sizes, few 100x100. Superior quality authentic **CLAN TARTANS;** Kilts to order. **ARAN SWEATERS. SAVE**—Order direct from **AVOCA HANDWEAVERS,** Putney, Vermont (U.S. headquarters of Co. Wicklow, Ireland craftsmen).

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